MORAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

12 Geo

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MDCCLXXIX.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT.

A FEW reflections in the following Eſſays may make it neceſſary to obſerve, that the greater part of them were written in the years 1775 and 1776. Since that time, owing to a change of fortune and circumſtances, ſome ſlight alteration has, perhaps, taken place in public manners. Thoſe reflections, however, were dictated by the Author's feelings, and the picture held out before him; and it is to be feared are ſtill applicable, in too great a degree, to preſent views and principles.

Upon account of ſeveral material errors of the preſs, chiefly occaſioned by the handwriting of the tranſcriber of the MS. the reader is deſired to turn to the table of Errata.

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ERRATA.

Page	line	
1	2	*for* young people into, *read* young people to travel in
	4	*for* thinks it, *read* deems it.
	10, 11	*for* theſe important purpoſes be equally well attained, *read* both be equally well conſulted
5	20	*for* I ſuppoſe nobody will excuſe in a moral view, *read* I ſuppoſe no virtuous or well-diſpoſed mind will excuſe to attain what purpoſe ſoever
	24	*for* and the ſo much inſiſted on even to ſatiety of the maſqued intention and open countenance, *read* and the maſqued intention and open countenance ſo much inſiſted on even to ſatiety
20	8	*for* ävute, *read* avuti.
37	3	from the bottom, *dele* the comma after moderation,
		laſt line *for* in the, *read* on the
43	3	*for* ειναι, *read* ουναι
		laſt line, *for* incerets, *read* interets
44	1	*for* reement, *read* reelment
56	22	*for* ingeniouſly, *read* ingenuouſly
64	7	*for* in converſation? Why, *read* in converſation, why
	14	*for* male ſociety. So that, *read* male ſociety; ſo that
76	13	*for* in omiſſions, *read* on omiſſions
79	14	*for* means, *read* mean
81	7	from the bottom, *for* black crime, *read* black liſt of crimes
84		——— *for* Cæſar, *read* C. Cæſar
85	8	*for* children and connections, *read* children, connections
87	16	*for* diſeaſe, *read* deceaſe
	11	from the bottom, *for* Saleme, *read* Salome
100	4	——— *for* is it, *read* are they,
	2	——— *for* the exerciſe it affords our beſt talents for the purpoſes of benevolence and for the opportunity it affords, *read* unleſs upon account of the exerciſe they afford our beſt talents and affections and the opportunity they give us.
102	19	*for* Nucas, *read* Nicias
110		laſt line, *for* virtues, *read* virtue
111	12	from the bottom, *for* preſervation, *read* preſervation or recovery
113	16, 21	*for* Viſconte, *read* Viſconti
127	7	*for* may be, *read* might be
128	12	from the bottom, *for* lawful, *read* baneful
	7	——— *for* Segnerolles, *read* Lignerolles, *and as often as it occurs.*
149	4	*for* ponſer, *read* penſer
151	8	*for* lame, *read* tame
153		*for* that he had, *read* that now he had
154	12	from the bottom, *for* by his connections, a perſon ſuffering, *read* by his connections. A perſon ſuffering,
155	1	*for* in which no object, *read* in which there is no object
	4	*for* dormity, *read* dormitories
157	7	from the bottom, *for* reſtleſſneſs, *read* liſtleſſneſs
	5	——— *for* practice, *read* experience
160	2	——— *for* reſtleſneſs, *read* liſtleſneſs

ERRATA.

Page	line	
161	13	*for* theſe, *read* thoſe
169	7	*for* premiſſorum, *read* promiſſorum
		laſt line, *for* manos, *read* mannos
170	9	*for* ſecond higher, *read* higher
	7 from the bottom,	*for* contempte *read* contemple
	2 ——— ———	*for* peu, *read* pu
179	14	*for* continued, *read* continue
180	6	*for* their, *read* theſe
183	14	*for* an art, *read* and an art
184	11	*for* deſolated, *read* decollated
	12	*for* murdered, *read* murder
185	1	*for* Caſci, *read* laſci
206		laſt line, *for* obſerved, *read* abſorbed.
207	11	*dele* the ( )
209	9	*for* we know, *read* and we know
	11	*for* Dieneas, *read* Dieneces.
		foot, *for* p. 226, *read* § 226.
210	4 from the bottom,	*for* claims, *read* their claims.
217		*for* expoſe, *read* exhort
220	6 from the bottom,	*for* tent and equipage, *read* tent equipage
223	5 ——— ———	*for* contend, *read* contended
226	14	*for* who had, *read* who had not
227	2 from the bottom,	*for* on, *read* in
228	7	*for* firſt, *read* chief
	2 from bottom,	*for* the ſame ſpecies, *read* the ſame kind of praiſe
		for ξιφις, *read* ξιφος
231	3 from the bottom,	*dele* and
233	7 ——— ———	*for* perhaps the other, *read* perhaps the apprehenſions of the other
	2 ——— ———	*for* their country, *read* their own country
234		*dele* the note at bottom, being a repetition of a former one by miſtake
236	6	*for* native talents, *read* active talents
238	11	*for* part, *read* port
244	9 from the bottom,	*for* actions, *read* action
248	14 ——— ———	*for* of, *read* for
251	6	*for* deliberate, *read* deliberating
	15	*for* digreſſion, *read* digreſſive
	7 from the bottom,	*for* ſtrains, *read* vein
252	13	*for* illuſions, *read* alluſions.
258	7 from the bottom,	*for* Titius, *read* Titus
264	9	*for* ſplendid action, *read* ſplendid fiction
308		*for* p. 281, *read* p. 6.
309		from the bottom, *for* his country, *read* his own country
317		*for* that that, *read* that
327	5 from the bottom,	*for* in the, *read* on the
332	8 ——— ———	*for* of theſe, *read* on theſe
	4 ——— ———	*for* by talents, *read* by their talents
348	18	*for* is protected, *read* are protected
383	7 from the bottom,	*for* Harpelus, *read* Harpalus
389	13	*for* Pyſiſtrates, *read* Pyſiſtratus.

THE

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* This Eſſay was publiſhed ſeparately in the courſe of laſt Summer.

MORAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

I.

Of Foreign Travel.

OF late years it has been more than ever a general cuſtom in England to ſend young people into the neighbouring countries of Europe. Every parent of quality or fortune, now thinks it abſolutely neceſſary, that his ſon ſhould complete his education by viſiting at leaſt France, and the various courts and cities of Italy. Is this way of thinking and practice, favourable to purity of morals, and the improvement of the underſtanding of youth? or, may not theſe important purpoſes be equally well attained, by an entire home education?

Many and various reaſons are alleged in favour of foreign travel. It affords a convenient opportunity, to ſons of family and condition, to get rid of many diſagreeable and unbecoming connexions, to learn their exerciſes, to fall inſenſibly

into a graceful confidence in manners and behaviour, to acquire the modern languages, to attain an obvious knowledge of the influence of government, religion, and climate, on the human character; and even ſerious reading and ſtudy may be as diligently and advantageouſly purſued in any city or academy abroad, as in our own univerſities, or in the town and country reſidence of a parent. If theſe aſſertions be well-founded, I know not by what arguments the advocates of an home education can ſupport their cauſe.

Thoughtleſs or ill-diſpoſed young men are equally expoſed to bad company, both at home and abroad; perhaps, more ſo in a foreign country, removed from the watchful eye of a parent, leſs fearful of cenſure, becauſe leſs known, always with the power of quitting the ſcene, together with the conſequences. On the contrary, any enormity or exceſs committed at home, in the eye of the public, of their parents, their relations, their friends, is not ſo readily forgotten or excuſed, and may be of infinite diſſervice to them in their future views of reputation, intereſt, or ambition. Beſides, what ingenuous nature could long ſupport the reproaches and coldneſs of all whom he is taught to love, eſteem, and reverence, without chagrin and uneaſineſs, and a deſire to be looked upon with affection and commendation, rather than with diſlike and upbraidings? For theſe reaſons, would he not here be leſs liable to run into any exceſs, or to form illiberal connexions, than abroad, and would he

not

not be ſooner aſhamed of them? For not only illiberal, but dangerous, and very dangerous connexions and familiarities of various kinds, may be formed in France or in Italy, as well as in England, may detain us captive there, may be brought home with us, and continue to be a diſgrace to us, and an obſtacle to many a good reſolution for much too long a time.

An eaſe and gracefulneſs of manners and behaviour are certainly accompliſhments very becoming perſons of rank and fortune, and are beſt acquired by what are now termed the exerciſes, and a daily intercourſe with people of faſhion in different countries. The polite reception given by perſons of the firſt quality, and even by princes abroad, to thoſe who come properly recommended to them; the familiar intercourſe with various ſelect companies of different ſtates, and all the exerciſes which are taught in perfection there, muſt have a very rapid effect in forming the carriage, gait and mien, and in giving that graceful compoſure and manly dignity, which diſtinguiſh the perſon of education and condition. And will not this intercourſe with thoſe of a rank and ſtation ſuperior to our own, be our beſt preſervative from that illiberal familiarity, and indelicacy of behaviour, which we are liable to contract when we aſſociate only with our equals or inferiors, and which is ſo diſguſting to perſons of taſte and diſcernment? This reaſoning is ſpecious, but are there then no well-bred people in England of the above deſcription, to whoſe notice and counte-

nance a young man, by means of his family connexions, may be introduced gradually and in proper time [A]? And may not politeneſs of manners, and Engliſh manners, be as well acquired by a ſuitable and frequent intercourſe with them, as with the ſubjects of different and leſs equal forms of government? And as to the exerciſes of riding, dancing, and fencing, all neceſſary proficiency in thoſe magnified arts may be as well acquired in London, as at Paris or Turin; at beſt they are but ſecondary and ſuperficial accompliſhments, and any high degree of excellence in them, is an indication of a frivolous, rather than of a liberal mind. Surely then, even ſuppoſing that perfection in them could be attained only in a foreign country, the ſucceſs is not worth the danger.

The ſubject of manners leads me naturally to mention a late publication, which has been much read and admired. It owes its faſhion, partly to the name of its author (undoubtedly a nobleman of wit and parts), partly to the increaſing corruption and frivolous turn of the age. A ſententious moraliſt ſaid, wittily and ſatirically enough, that it inculcated the manners of a dancing-maſter, and the morals of a proſtitute. Perhaps, this cenſure is too ſevere; but I cannot help diſapproving of the plan of education recommended in it, even upon other accounts; it is not calculated to make a perſon ſucceed in this country, and under our preſent form of government, even in his views of intereſt and ambition, the ſole end of the

the author of it. The very perſon for whoſe uſe it was written, ſeems ſenſible of this. That inſincerity, that duplicity, that affected blindneſs, thoſe obſequious, not to call them ſervile, attentions, with regard to perſons in favour or ſtation, in whatever eſtimation in public opinion, will never recommend to credit and advancement in our nation. To be eſteemed and conſidered among us, a man muſt have ſo much of the character as to have a way of thinking of his own; muſt ſupport his opinions with ardour and confidence, muſt be ingenuous, candid, almoſt equally warm in his enmities and in his friendſhips *. The courtly lord's compliances, ſervilities, palpably ſordid, and ſelfiſh reſignation of opinions, ſentiments, principles, would be much more likely (I ſpeak to the honour of our country), to make our artful candidate for notice and office, an object of contempt and deteſtation, than of eſteem and goodwill. I ſuppoſe nobody will excuſe in a moral view, to attain what purpoſe ſoever (be it ever ſo advantageous, ever ſo much what we call honourable), intereſted intrigue, ſenſuality, adultery, and the ſo much inſiſted on, even to ſatiety, of the maſqued intention and the open countenance. For my own part (and I believe all ingenuous and truly noble minds will agree with me), I think his lordſhip's paternal lectures may ſerve, perhaps, to form a younger ſon or brother to be a pitiful envoy at ſome foreign, deſpotic court,

* I mean where the intereſt of the public is concerned.

but never to raiſe an heir of family or fortune in this country, either to confidence with the prince, or conſideration with the people. Let me alſo add, that moſt of the noble tutor's inſtances are unhappily ſelected, and had not thoſe illuſtrious perſons poſſeſſed more eſſential and ſplendid qualities, than the tinſel of graceful and courtly manners, and even a copiouſneſs and command of language without argument and excellent good ſenſe, they would never have ruled in ſenates, or triumphed in the fields of battle. I make no apology for this cenſure and digreſſion, being of opinion, that when nobility acts a part ſo unworthy of honour and virtue, as to excite to preferment through the medium of hypocriſy and ſenſuality, without ſentiment or ſympathy, it ought to be treated with no more ceremony or reſpect, than literary vanity or avarice, that bawds and panders to the vices, the politics, and manners of the age [B].

With regard to the languages of France and Italy, they will certainly be beſt acquired in their native countries; for it is only the habits of converſation that can give a readineſs and fluency in the ſpeaking of them. But do not all of us, without ever croſſing the channel, attain ſuch a knowledge of them, as enable us to read their beſt authors, with as much eaſe and pleaſure as our own? And how few can ever have occaſion to ſpeak or much to converſe in them? And is it not acknowledged by thoſe who once poſſeſſed them with the greateſt fluency, that time and diſ-

uſe had ſoon robbed them of this magnified advantage? But it is awkward and illiberal, if in French or Italian company, to ſit like a ſtatue, and not be able to expreſs ourſelves in their language. But is not the ſame incapacity with regard to ours, infinitely more ſo in them? Before they come hither, let them deign to learn our tongue, and let ſuch of us as have a curioſity to viſit France or Italy pay them the ſame compliment. But ſuppoſe we are in company with foreign miniſters? We may reply, why do thoſe of that ſtation appear at our court, without the uſe of our language? The acquiſition of it is their duty, is their intereſt. But even allowing it neceſſary to ſpeak a foreign tongue when employed in the *king's buſineſs* (as they now term it), are we all to aſpire to court-favour? Are none of us to be independent, private gentlemen, without other object than that of faithfully diſcharging our duty to our country, whether in parliament, or without that laborious and honourable diſtinction (I mean what it ought to be, not what it is). The too general views to place and office, are but a late phrenſy in this country, and if fluency in the French tongue contributes to increaſe and inflame it, perhaps the progreſs of that polite language, notwithſtanding its various fine authors, cannot be too much checked and diſcouraged. It is more our concern to be good Engliſhmen, than to have read the beſt of the French writers; and probably, it will too ſoon become adviſable to return again to the Ancients, and be content with our own.

In oppoſition to the preſent propenſity to foreign education, were I to imagine a ſituation beſt adapted to promote purity of morals, and the acquiſition of knowledge, I could hardly ſuppoſe any thing to be compared in theſe reſpects with an Engliſh univerſity. The habit, the diſcipline, the regular diſtribution of time, the diſtance from the reſorts of diſſipation and vice, unite to render them, in a peculiar manner, the nurſeries of ſcience and virtue. What place of foreign inſtruction can bear a compariſon with them in theſe ſeveral reſpects? The greater part of thoſe academies, or whatever other name they go by, are in the centre of opulent and luxurious cities, where every object combines to divert attention, and awake and inflame the deſires and paſſions of that feveriſh and critical ſeaſon of life. There is no peculiar habit, no ſubordination, no diſcipline, and every one is ſuffered to be diligent or remiſs in his ſtudies, as he is well or ill inclined: and what a feeble, confined influence has emulation among ſtrangers, whom we are never likely to ſee again, in compariſon of its effect upon us among our equals and countrymen, with whom we are to contend during the whole courſe of our lives, in the paths of intereſt, popularity and ambition?

It muſt naturally give me pleaſure to pay this tribute of preference to our Engliſh univerſities; yet, notwithſtanding this juſt commendation, if I expreſs my wiſhes for a reform even in them, in ſome important particulars, I hope my good intentions and reſpect for thoſe venerable ſeats of know-

knowledge and virtue, will plead my excuſe and apology.

It is very well known, that the preſent method of education in our univerſities was eſtabliſhed before ſcience and polite letters had made any conſiderable progreſs in this iſland, or in Europe. At that period, ſcholaſtic learning and the canon law were the great roads to diſtinction and preferment. Subtilty and acuteneſs in diſputation and argument, were the moſt ſucceſsful weapons in thoſe intricate and perplexed ſciences. Hence the eſteem of metaphyſics and logic, and hence the ſyllogiſtical mode of reaſoning in the ſchools, and which at preſent is of ſo little uſe either at the bar, in the pulpit, or in parliament. Though upon the revival, and during the progreſs of better letters, every thing ſeemed to adviſe a reformation in this reſpect, yet cuſtom and veneration for eſtabliſhed forms ſtill continued the abuſe. Even after the reception of a juſter metaphyſics and philoſophy, in the immortal writings of Mr. Locke and of Sir Iſaac Newton, the hiſtory and developement of the human mind, and the true ſyſtem of the univerſe, were tried by the teſt of majors and minors [C].

Perhaps, what I am going to advance will hardly be approved by ſome perſons, but though no one more admires the comprehenſive genius of Sir Iſaac Newton and of Mr. Locke, yet are the ſpeculative intricacies of metaphyſics, and the revolutions of the planetary ſyſtem, the proper ſtudies of young people of rank and fortune, of thoſe

thoſe deſtined to act in the conſtant view of their fellow-citizens, in a civil, a legiſlative, or military capacity? They may ſerve, indeed, very properly to amuſe the leiſure of their riper and maturer years; but ſurely, ſo much to inſiſt upon them at ſo early a period of life, to the neglect and excluſion of certainly more neceſſary and uſeful knowledge, is rather forming the mind to abſtruſe and ſolitary ſpeculation, than to ſtudies that nouriſh imagination, eloquence, and the talents that qualify us to act with mankind [D].

Inſtead of theſe abſtruſe and perplexing ſtudies, beſt adapted to intereſt retired and cold tempers, might not a lecture on an ancient or modern hiſtorian or moraliſt, be attended to with more advantage and pleaſure; on a Xenophon, an Antoninus, a Cicero, a La Bruyere? Might not a Sidney, a Monteſquieu, be illuſtrated with ſufficient propriety? Notwithſtanding the nature of our government, and though ſo many of us are intitled to a ſeat in the legiſlature, and to take a part in public affairs both foreign and domeſtic, I am afraid the principles of our own conſtitution, and the ſtudy of the laws of nations, of peace and of war, with the political ſyſtem and intereſts of our neighbours, are very little conſidered. Indeed, are we ſo much as inſtructed in the firſt elements of this moſt uſeful, and one ſhould think indiſpenſable branch of knowledge; and as to our future conduct in life and in the world, what authors ſo well adapted to teach us to think, to act, to ſpeak, and to write, as the hiſtorians of Greece and Rome

Rome (yet which we hardly ever open), and what a beautiful guide would Voltaire and Henault be for a lecture in modern hiſtory, in which, perhaps, we are ſtill more intereſted [E]? Theſe are ſtudies that come home to our proper buſineſs and boſoms. They intereſt, they warm, they elevate. They enable us to anſwer the expectation of our friends, to ſerve our country with ſufficiency, with ability, to act that part in ſociety, ſo plainly pointed out to us by good ſenſe, and the forms of our government.

The laſt argument alleged in favour of foreign travel, is the opportunity it affords of obſerving the influence of climate, of religion, of government, &c. on the human character, and of hearing the opinions of perſons of learning and obſervation, on important and intereſting ſubjects, whether peculiar to the country, or of a more general nature.

Thoſe, indeed, who viſit far diſtant countries at the age, and with the eyes of the ancient philoſophers, or of the Dalla Valles, the Chardins, the La Louberes of modern times, may make various and intereſting obſervations and diſcoveries on theſe important ſubjects. But what obſervations, what diſcoveries can be made by boys in a manner, and ſuch tutors as are commonly allotted them in the beaten tour of Europe, where there is little variety of climate, of religion, of governments, of manners; and where, owing to theſe cauſes, and an almoſt general intercourſe, the character of perſons of rank and fortune (with whom

whom we only converſe and aſociate) is hardly diſcriminated, and every where pretty nearly the ſame [F].

With regard to thoſe who are more diſtinguiſhed by genius, knowledge, and virtue, than others by title, fortune, or office, can it be expected that they will ſhew more than what common civility and politeneſs require, to ſuch as come even properly recommended to them, eſpecially when the emigrations become daily more numerous, and the frequency of the thing makes it no longer a diſtinction to either party? How few young men can flatter themſelves that the Diderots, the D'Alemberts, the Marmontels will communicate their ſentiments on the moſt intereſting ſubjects without reſerve or caution? And as to thoſe who are called people of faſhion in France, and in Italy, it is very well known to every one who has travelled, that knowledge and diſcernment are much leſs frequent among them, than among perſons of the ſame rank in our own iſland. Indeed, it naturally muſt be ſo. Mens talents and knowledge are generally in proportion to the circumſtances and objects that commonly engage their thoughts and attention. The people of France and Italy, being doomed by the forms and ſpirit of the government of their country, to a life of indolence and pleaſure, and to a total excluſion from an intereſt in what concerns the public, their converſation is conſequently confined, narrow, and frivolous, and full of puerile prejudices, and their enjoyments chiefly thoſe derived from

from the gratifications of ſenſe and appetite. Why then roam abroad to mingle with perſons of ſuch notorious inferiority to ourſelves in information, principle, and ſcience? And is no danger to be apprehended from ſuch an intercourſe? Even the libertine inſtructor Lord Cheſterfield had his fears on that head*. The illuſtrious nation who conſidered virtue as the principle of their government, prohibited all communication with foreigners. The wiſeſt of modern nations, the Chineſe, and their impetuous neighbours, and inveterate rivals and enemies of Japan, approve and practiſe the ſame reſtriction [G]. The influence and contagion of cuſtom and example, eſpecially on young minds, is certainly very great. Is there nothing then to be feared from the prodigal oſtentation of deſpotic government, and the equally pernicious pageantry of public worſhip, among our ſuperſtitious and enſlaved

* Vid. his Will. The effects of travelling into Italy ſo early in life, have always been dreaded by judicious perſons. So early as the time of Queen Elizabeth, Roger Aſcham writes, "But I know as many or mo, and ſome, ſome tyme, my deare frendes (for whoſe ſake I hate going into that countrey the more), who parting out of England, fervent in the love of Chriſt's doctrine, and well furniſhed with the feare of God, returned out of Italy worſe transformed than ever any was in Circe's court. I know diverſe, that went out of England men of innocent life, men of excellent learnyng, who returned out of Italy, not only with worſe manners, but alſo with leſſe learnyng, neither ſo willing to live orderlie, nor yet ſo able to ſpeake learnedlie as they were at home, before they went abroad." Bennet's Edit. of Aſcham's works, p. 249.

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neighbours? Probably, the familiarity of our ſecond Charles, and of thoſe who accompanied him during his long exile, with the deſpotiſm, luxury, venality, and corruption of foreign courts, was the principal cauſe of his ruinous and inglorious meaſures, and of the juſt diſſatisfaction, and feveriſh agitations, to which the Engliſh nation were expoſed, during the ſanguinary violence and tyranny of his own, and of his brother's reign [H]. And is there no room to entertain fears of a like nature, from the early acquaintance of ſons of family and fortune (our future miniſters, ſenators and generals), with the principles and maxims of foreign courtiers, where all oppoſition to meaſures, however unjuſt, violent, impolitic, or ſenſeleſs, is called diſappointment, faction, rebellion; where the intereſt of the community at large is never conſidered, or made a ſubject of ridicule; where the eaſe and happineſs of millions is ſacrificed to pamper and inflame the inſatiable deſires of a few [I]; where the revenues of the ſtate, inſtead of procuring protection and ſafety to all, are made the prey and ſpoils of the miniſters, the minions, the miſtreſſes of an unprincipled, prodigal, diſſolute, and venal adminiſtration.

With reſpect to more diſtant travel, few, very few have either inclination or opportunity to undertake it. And indeed, with how much greater ſafety and advantage, may not all the ends of it be attained, may we not ſtudy the influence of climate, of government, of religion, in the relations and narratives of the beſt voyages and travels. In our

own

own libraries, by a good fire, and cheerful lights, without expoſing ourſelves to the inconveniences and dangers of a long navigation, or tedious route by land, with the aid of Charlevoix and Lafitau, we may traverſe the immenſe foreſts, plains, and wide expanded lakes of America, and admire the penetration, the ardour, the figurative elocution, the independent mind, the equally inconceivable activity and ſloth of the rude and uncivilized inhabitant. With Scheffer, with Peyrere, with Lubin, we may ſtep into the ſled of the Laplander, and be ſurpriſed alike at the rapid fleetneſs of his raindeer, and the placid ſatisfaction of his ſong, amidſt his mountains of ice and of ſnow; or, in the ſix months night of Greenland, we may partake in the dance and the ſong of the contented inhabitant and priſoner, and drink the health of his miſtreſs in chargers of oil. Or quitting theſe frozen regions, we may, as by magic, change the ſcene, and ſweat in imagination under the ardours of a burning ſun, with Lobo, with Loyer in Africa; or tranſport ourſelves to the milder and more civilized regions of Aſia and the Eaſt, with the miſſionaries of Europe, with Bernier, with Otter, with Chardin, with thoſe admirable compilers Herbelot, Du Halde, &c. In theſe various and entertaining memoirs and relations, we may obſerve at leiſure and at our eaſe, how greatly virtue and courage, talents and enjoyment, are influenced by climate and government; how much the moderate deſires of ſome nations, the cold inſenſibility of others, the fiery paſſions of more,

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the exceſſes of ſuperſtition, of puſillanimity, of luſt, of dominion and ſubjection, depend on the courſe of the ſun, in his progreſs from the equator to the pole. We ſhall diſcover that the virtues and vices of nations, their good or bad qualities, their activity or indolence, their candour or diſingenuouſneſs, the advanced or dilatory and retarded ſtate of ſcience and manufacture, are greatly affected by ſuch apparently inconſiderable and diſtant cauſes. This, in a word, is the only mode of remote and foreign travel that is really uſeful, and adapted to the circumſtances of curious and inquiſitive minds. Some indeed are privileged, and may follow the impulſe of nature; for without their labours and aſſiſtance, we could never have even this our ſafe and pleaſant method, of gratifying the love and deſire of information and knowledge.

To conclude this ſubject. If we may be permitted to judge of the utility of travel among our neighbours on the continent, from its effect on many who have had the benefit of it in our own times, I fear we cannot allow much in its favour. Theſe young travelled gentlemen ſeem to return with leſs modeſty, good ſenſe, and learning, than they even at firſt carried out with them [K]. The foreign ſhrug, the foreign apoſtrophe of the hands; a finical and feminine attention to dreſs; a total inaptitude to application; a rage for amuſement, gallantry, diſſipation, and play; a ſenſeleſs contempt of unaffected natural behaviour, of Engliſh converſation and manners, appear their diſtinguiſhing

diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics. How different the ſtyle of life at Naples, at Turin, at Paris! Oh! Sirs, how little do you know of true enjoyment! When ſhall I be able to endure your want of taſte, your ruſtic behaviour, your love of the tame and inſipid ſatisfactions of a country vegetation? Such, in general, are the ſalutary and noble fruits of this ſo much boaſted foreign travel, according to the preſent mode of it. Undoubtedly, there are exceptions, and a few eſcape contagion, yet the riſk is great, and ſhould not at leaſt be ventured upon till a ſeaſon of riper and maturer age *.

* Whatever hints in this Eſſay, may be taken from the ingenious and beautiful Dialogue on the ſame ſubject, of the Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, it was without deſign, and owing to the impreſſion it made in reading long ago.

NOTES.

Note [A], p. 4.

I Have heard it alleged, "conſidering my ſituation and connexions, how can I give my ſon and his tutor a place at my table? Are ſubjects never ſtarted there, which it would be improper for them to hear? Are a pedagogue and his pupil ſuitable companions for perſons of rank and faſhion?" But why ſhould any thing indecent or irreligious be advanced at the table of a parent? Why ſhould a man of modeſty, good ſenſe, and learning (for I ſuppoſe you would chuſe ſuch an one), be thought to pollute and contamine a perſon of even the higheſt ſtation, by eating in his preſence? Were ſuch a ſottiſh way of thinking to prevail in general, our notions of virtue and merit would ſoon become perplexed and confounded. And ſhould your ſon's tutor acquieſce in the juſtneſs of your opinion, you have made a moſt wretched and unnatural choice. Beſides, might they not retire in proper time before the glaſs; or, now indeed, rather the wanton petulance of letters and philoſophy had baniſhed, diſcretion, true learning, and piety from their ancient aſylum. On the contrary, the table of a parent, the converſation that adorns it, the ſentiments and reflections of his friends, connexions, and acquaintance, ſhould be the ſchool of young men. It was at ſuch convivial, though more general meetings, that anciently the youth of Sparta learnt virtue, and the love of their country.

NOTE [B], p. 6.

I Venture this opinion on the general tendency of his Lordſhip's faſhionable work, with ſome degree of confidence, as, ſince writing it, I find I have the ſanction of a very excellent perſon. "There may come a time when Lord Cheſterfield's dictum in matters of taſte, may not be held more infallible than that of his own, and other dead lords, in points of religion and morality: Nay, when his own gentlemanly education may be thought leſs capable of furniſhing his country with uſeful members of ſociety, than the plain old-faſhioned one which he wrote to explode. If this day does not quickly come, one may, without pretending to a gift of prophecy, pronounce that England will neither be, nor deſerve to be, any thing better than a province of France." Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, p. 336.

NOTE [C], p. 9.

SEE Biſhop Hurd's learned Dialogue on Foreign Travel, and the eleventh volume of Velly and Villaret Hiſtoire de France, p. 172, &c.

NOTE [D], p. 10.

A Sanction is given to theſe ſentiments, with regard to theſe abſtract ſtudies by a great authority, Το δε μεχρι των δυσξυνετων διαγραμματων γεωμετριαν μανθανειν απιδοκιμαζειν. ὁ, τι μεν γαρ ωφελοιη ταυτα, ουκ εφη ὁραν. εφη δε ταυτα ἱκανα ειναι ανθρωπῳ βιον κατατριβειν, και αλλων πολλων τε και ωφελιμων μαθηματων αποκωλυειν. Xenophon, vol. iv. p. 259. ex Edit. Wells. And again Memorabilia, lib. iv. c. vii. § 5. The proper ſtudies of a man and a citizen, are alſo beautifully pointed out in the firſt chapter of the ſame fine work.

NOTE [E] p. 11.

SOME attempts have been made to ſupply part of theſe defects by a law-lecture at Oxford, and one on modern hiſtory, both there and at Cambridge. It is to be hoped, that ſuch wiſe inſtitutions, if properly countenanced, will ſerve to check the preſent ſtrange propenſity to foreign education.

NOTE [F], p. 12.

AGREEABLY to the judicious La Bruyere,—Quelque diverſité qui ſe trouve dans les complexions ou dans les mœurs, le commerce du monde, et la politeſſe donnent les mêmes apparences, font qu'on ſe reſſemble les uns aux autres par des dehors, qui plaiſent reciproquement, qui ſemblent communs a nous, et qui font croire qu'it n'y a rien ailleurs qui ne s'y rapporte. Chap. xi. p. 83.

NOTE [G], p. 13.

MACHIAVEL aſcribes the purity of morals of part of Germany in his times (of which he gives a remarkable inſtance) to the natives having little or no intercourſe with ſtrangers and foreign nations. His words are worth tranſcribing, " La quel Bontà è tanto piu da ammirare in queſte tempi, quando ella è piu rara anzi ſi vide eſſere rémaſa ſola in quella provincia; il che naſce da due coſe; l' una non aver avute comerce grandi co' viceni; perchê, ne quelli ſono iti a caſa loro, ne eſſi ſono iti a caſa altrui, perché ſono ſtati contenti di quelli beni, vivere de quelle cibi, veſtire di quelle lane che dá il paeſe, d'onde é ſtata tolta via la cagione d' ogni converſazione, ed il principio d' ogni corruttela: perché non hanno poſſuto pigliare i coſtumi ne Franceſi, ne Spagnuoli, ne Italiani, le quali nazioni tutti inſieme ſono la corruttela del mondo. Diſcorſe, lib. i. c. lv.

NOTE

NOTE [H], p. 14.

THIS is acknowledged even by Lord Clarendon, "In which his majeſty (as hath been often ſaid before) by the ill principles he had received in France, &c." Lord Clarendon's Life, p. 357. Sir William Temple and Biſhop Burnet make the ſame obſervation. And Lord Bolingbroke more fully. "The exile of theſe princes (Charles and James) reconciled them to the religion of Rome, and to the politics of foreign nations, in ſuch degrees as their different characters admitted. Charles ſipped a little of the poiſonous draught, but enough however to infect his whole conduct. As for James

—Ille impiger hauſit,
Spumantem pateram;

he drank the chalice off to the loweſt and foulеſt dregs." See alſo p. 98, 99. vol. i. Edit. 4to.

NOTE [I], p. 14.

FOR we are told by a very capable judge, "It may perhaps be neceſſary for France (from reſpects within) to have ſome war or other in purſuit abroad, which may amuſe the nation, and keep them from reflecting on their condition at home, *hard and uneaſy to all but ſuch as are in charge, or in pay from the court.*" Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 244. Edit. 8vo. Dare we ſay there are none, who would be glad to ſee our country in a like ſituation, by the ſame methods, and for the ſame reaſons?

NOTE [K], p. 16.

THIS opinion is ſince confirmed by a very judicious writer, and who has had the beſt opportunities of information. He tells us, "In England, it becomes more and more the cuſtom, to ſend young people to travel in foreign countries immediately upon their leaving ſchool, and without ſending them to any univerſity.

Our young people, it is ſaid, generally return home much improved by their travels. A young man who goes abroad at ſeventeen or eighteen, and returns home at one and twenty, returns three or four years older than he was when he went abroad; and at that age it is very difficult not to improve a good deal in three or four years. In the courſe of his travels, he generally acquires ſome knowledge of one or two foreign languages; a knowledge, however, which is ſeldom ſufficient to enable him either to ſpeak or write them with propriety. In other reſpects, he commonly returns home more conceited, more unprincipled, more diſſipated, and more incapable of any ſerious application either to ſtudy or buſineſs, than he could well have become in ſo ſhort a time had he lived at home. By travelling ſo very young, by ſpending in the moſt frivolous diſſipation the moſt precious years of his life, at a diſtance from the inſpection and controul of his parents and relations, every uſeful habit, which the earlier part of his education might have had ſome tendency to form in him, inſtead of being rivetted and confirmed, is almoſt neceſſarily either weakened or effaced." He then gives (perhaps too true) a reaſon for this ſtrange conduct of parents: "By ſending his ſon abroad, a father delivers himſelf, at leaſt for ſome years, from ſo diſagreeable an object as that of a ſon unemployed, neglected, and going to ruin before his eyes." Dr. Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, book v. c. i. p. 358. vol. ii.

I ſhall take leave to cloſe this Eſſay and Notes, with a paſſage very appoſite to my view in them, from a neglected but very elegantly written book, both as to imagination and purity of Engliſh ſtyle. It is alſo valuable upon account of ſeveral curious features of the manners of our nation.—It ſeems we have always been reproached with "an inclination for every novelty and vanity of foreign

foreign countries, and a contempt for the good things of our own. This fondneſs is the uſual fault of young travellers, but it has alſo its ill effects on men of full age. For this they are wont to allege the excuſe of good-breeding. But if we could not ſtudy or underſtand our own country without the imputation of ill-manners, good-breeding were the moſt pernicious thing in the world; for there was never yet any nation great, which only admired the cuſtoms of other people, and wholly made them the pattern of their imitation." Biſhop Spratt's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 424. And again, in the next page, with much good ſenſe and diſcernment, "There is one inſtance, which will ſhew how our reſpect to outlandiſh things is to be regulated. To depend on the French for every little faſhion of cloaths, and to equal their nobility in their way of life, is neither for our honour or profit: for the difference between their gentry and ours, and their commonalty and ours, is ſo great, that the ſame manners will not be decent in us, which become them well enough." If this was acknowledged by Biſhop Spratt (neither by profeſſion or conduct a friend to a free conſtitution of government), and even in the times of the Stuarts, how much more applicable and true ought it to be in our own?

II.

OF REFINEMENT AND LUXURY.

OUR real wants are few, and eaſily ſupplied: yet it ſeems the intention of nature, that a great part of our employment, and even happineſs, ſhould conſiſt in procuring the accommodations and conveniencies of life; and hence in the progreſs of improvement and civility, ſuperfluity, refinement, luxury.

It is obvious that luxury is unknown in rude and uncultivated life. What is luxury in the poliſhed citizen, is exceſs in the untutored barbarian. It is not till ſocieties begin to be formed; till fear of danger from abroad is removed, and tranquillity eſtabliſhed at home; till the unequal diviſion of property, the difference of conditions, the ſeparation of profeſſions, have produced unequal degrees of accommodation, that the word is received into language, or is capable of conveying an idea. It is then applied to refinement and ſuperfluous ornament of every kind, in building, in furniture, in dreſs, in the table, in the means of conveyance: yet the inequalities of condition were very obſervable both in Greece and in Rome, when the Spartan carpenter was confined to the uſe of the ax and the ſaw, and the interior walls of

of the country houſes of the elder Cato, were denied even the cleanlineſs of plaiſter; but this was owing to a peculiarity of conſtitution in one country, in the other to its tendency to conqueſt, to the contempt the arts were held in, and the conſequent little improvement they had received.

Moral and political writers have differed widely, reſpecting the conſequences of luxury or refinement, in the means of enjoyment and accommodation. The ancients have unanimouſly condemned it, as tending equally to enervate and corrupt both the body and the mind. This opinion ſeems confirmed by facts, by experience. The victories of the Greeks over the Aſiatics, of the Romans over the Tuſcans [A], the inhabitants of Campania and of Great Greece, over the armies of Carthage and of Antiochus, were as much owing to the robuſtneſs, agility, and inexhauſtible vigour of their bodies *, and the ſimplicity and integrity of their lives (the fruit and reward of an ignorance, or diſregard of the delicacies of the table, of ſuperfluous ornament, of refinement in the means of accommodation of every kind), as to the wiſdom of their civil and military inſtitutions. The precious hours loitered away on the couch and over their wine, by the ſlaves of Xerxes and Darius, by the effeminate and puſillanimous inhabitants of Tuſcany, &c. and of Syria, were dedicated by the ardent and robuſt citizens of Greece and Rome, to the man-

* — Των δε σωματων θηλυνομενων, και ψυχαι πολυ ασθενεστεραι γιγνονται. Xenophon. Οικον. κεφ. δ. Edit. Wells.

ly

ly and invigorating exerciſes of the Gymnaſium, and of the Campus Martius [B]: hence their inſenſibility to fatigue, to the inclemencies of the ſeaſons, to the varieties of climate. When they fell, it was in the fields of battle by the ſword of the enemy, not by forced marches, not by the exceſſes of damps, of heat, or of cold: they breathed the burning ardours of Afric, the ſuffocating heats of the more ſouthern kingdoms of Aſia, the moiſt exhalations, or piercing cold of northern Europe, with little or no injury to bodily health and vigour. How widely different in this reſpect from the modern armies of Europe? Such is the effeminacy and weakneſs of our bodies, the conſequence of indulgence and ſloth, that in all our late wars, a very conſiderable proportion of our troops are computed to have fallen ſacrifices to diſeaſe and exceſſive fatigue [C]. Indeed, it is not on a ſudden, it is not by reſolution, it is by early and conſtant habit that the human frame is inured to labours and hardſhips, to ſudden changes, to the extremities of air and of climate. Nay, ſuch are the effects of our negligence in this very important part of military diſcipline, that it is hardly exaggeration to ſay, it would be almoſt as adviſeable to remove the orange or myrtle tree out of a hot-houſe, into the open air in winter, as to tranſport one of our young faſhionable officers, from the cloſe rooms, the luxurious tables, and ſoft beds of Britain, to be expoſed to the ſeverities of heat and of cold in leſs happy climates, and often to ſleep and eat worſe than the

the pooreſt of our peaſantry*. The ſame obſervation is applicable to that part of our armies (by far the greater part) compoſed of manufacturers and handicrafts, accuſtomed to the ſedentary life, the confined air, the porter, the ſpirituous liquors, and groſs food of large towns and cities.

But the influence of luxury, and of too anxious an attention to the means of accommodation, is not leſs pernicious in a moral view. It enfeebles and depraves the mind equally with the body; it ſuggeſts falſe criterions of merit, it is the enemy of public virtue [D].

Before the arts have proceeded from utility to refinement, mankind are ſatisfied with a very moderate degree of accommodation. A convenient habitation, warm or light clothing, wholeſome food plainly dreſſed, proper exerciſe, amuſing converſation ſeem ſufficient to all the purpoſes of enjoyment and happineſs. But in the progreſs of the arts towards ſuperfluity and refinement, when, inſtead of a comfortable houſe, a magnificent manſion is thought neceſſary; when a ſuitable table, equipage and train of domeſtics are alſo required; when our clothing muſt not only be

* Whatever reſolution our young officers of faſhion and others, may ſhew at preſent on the other ſide the Atlantic, yet if any of them ſhould ever return from thence, the Bath and other places of recovery will afford but too convincing proofs of the weakneſs and debility of their bodies. All who frequent ſuch places, and others of public reſort, well remember the many objects that Germany returned us, after and during the laſt war.

adapted

adapted to the change of ſeaſons, but alſo compoſed of the richeſt materials, with the addition perhaps of lace or embroidery; when nauſeating a plain dinner, a variety of rare and high ſeaſoned diſhes muſt excite and oppreſs appetite; when nothing but deep gaming can agreeably amuſe and agitate, what muſt be the natural, the inevitable conſequence? A preference of fortune, of riches, to every other conſideration, an equal indifference to private, and to public virtue. Happineſs being ſuppoſed to conſiſt in diſſipation, and extravagance of every kind, regard and reſpect being paid to wealth, to external appearance alone, ſimple merit and talents being overlooked and ſlighted, the moſt baſe and diſhonourable methods will be practiſed, and thought permitted, by which may be acquired this purchaſer of influence, pageantry and elegance. All hiſtory confirms the obſervation. It was owing to the means of accommodation, become in requeſt in Sparta, and in the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, that the gold of Aſia found a welcome reception there, was preferred to duty and principle, that the ſafety and independence of the public was ſacrificed to ſuperfluity and idle pageantry *. It was not till a crown of gold was even leſs valued than formerly one of olive [E], that Athens became inthralled by the baits and artifices of a Philip. Rome was virtuous when Curius could make a chearful ſupper on the produce of his own garden, when Fabricius diſdained the gold of Pyr-

* Vid. Xenophon's Greek hiſtory.

rhus,

rhus, when Cato, when Scipio handled the ſpade and the mattock, and worked in their own grounds with their ſervants, repairing in the evening their waſted ſtrength and ſpirits with a frugal meal; not when the pleaſures of the table unmanned the virtue, and enfeebled the parts of a Lucullus; not when her degenerate ſons were hired by the plunder of Gaul, to plant daggers in her own boſom; not when the yawnings of indolence, and a baſe and criminal acquieſcence and repoſe, were meanly and ignobly preferred to exertion and oppoſition, to the calls of duty, of fame, and of their true and real intereſt as men, parents, and citizens. And was it not owing to the admiration, in which the arts of ſculpture and painting were held at Rome, that Verres became the execration of Sicily [F]? Polybius, the wiſe Polybius, very juſtly cenſures the Romans, for conveying from Greece into their own country, the pictures and ſtatues of the Grecian cities: for, ſays he, "If it was by the ſpoils of the conquered they became great and illuſtrious, they were certainly right in appropriating to themſelves, what had increaſed their power and their glory; but if their ſucceſs againſt that people, among whom the greateſt profuſion of thoſe ornaments was found, ought to be attributed to a frugal and ſimple manner of life, and moſt diſtant from this anxiety after elegance and magnificence, it muſt be confeſſed they were highly blameable in tranſporting them into their own country; for to relinquiſh thoſe manners to which they owed their con-

conqueſts, in order to adopt thoſe of the vanquiſhed, was certainly the height of folly [G]."

Though the inference may ſeem invidious, yet, if theſe obſervations be juſt, perhaps they may be applied in ſome degree to our own country. Our anxious concern for magnificence and elegance of every kind, in building, in furniture, in attendants, in our tables, in our gardens, by which we but foſter a ſickly, childiſh, ruinous vanity, and transform and pervert uſeful, benevolent corn-fields, into ſcenes adapted only to the barren and ſelfiſh purpoſes of riding and walking, may be conſidered as highly adverſe to private and to public virtue. This taſte cannot be indulged but at a great expence. It is become too general, yet few fortunes are equal to it. The means then muſt be ſought elſewhere. Many purſue them by unjuſt, unrighteous and diſhonourable methods. The repreſentative part of the people are reproached with crouching for them, from the favour and liberality of the crown. Hence embarraſſed circumſtances, anxiety, miſery; hence the ſolicitude for office; hence the proſtitute change and inconſiſtency of language and conduct; hence the wilful negligence and compliance, the too great and unnatural conſent and unanimity; hence the want of that jealous vigilance and ſpirit of oppoſition, ſo natural and neceſſary in every limited and free ſtate. Indeed, it is the opinion of many excellent and obſerving perſons, that the manners of the opulent land-proprietor, of the country gentleman (now a term

term of reproach) have undergone a conſiderable change, within theſe ſixty or ſeventy years paſt [H]. They allege, formerly his time was given to the care of his eſtate, to the amuſements of the field, to uſeful reading, to an open and generous hoſpitality, not a confined and Epicurean one, to a diligent, a vigilant and jealous attention to public affairs. The country gentleman was ever the faithful guardian of the rights of the nation, ever a bold oppoſer of the encroachments of prerogative, ever ready to take and ſpread the alarm when any dangerous innovation was ſuſpected or intended. He thought the health and immortality of our envied conſtitution depended on preſerving it as near as poſſible on its old Saxon foundation. He equally dreaded the licentiouſneſs of democracy, and the tyranny of monarchy. His love of liberty was founded on reflection, on hiſtorical experience, on perſonal enjoyment. He owed the bleſſings of his ſituation to God, and the virtue and courage of his forefathers; he was determined to maintain and tranſmit them unimpaired to his poſterity. Hence his apprehenſion of miniſterial influence, hence his dread, or even diſdain of royal favour. Such, add they, were the happy effects of a plain and ſimple manner of life, of an ignorance, or contempt of the arts of elegance, of refinement and effeminacy in accommodation. But now, ſome lament how fatally is the picture reverſed. Theſe days of activity, induſtry, independence, are now no more. The land-ſteward embezzles and purloins a fortune, by the abſence

or

or indolence of the proprietor; a French novel, or eſſays of impiety, White's or Almacks, are ſubſtituted inſtead of a Livy, a Plutarch, a Tacitus; and when the ſeaſon, and in a manner neceſſity, conſtrain him to relinquiſh the tumultuous diſſipations of the capital, inſtead of the improvements of agriculture and the exerciſes of the field; allow him the means of employing Adams and Brown, enable him to feſtoon and foliage his chimney-pieces, to paint his cielings in wanton compartments, to dazzle you with a glare of colour, gilding and mirror, to metamorphoſe his fruitful fields and meadows into barren ſhrubbery and landſcape; give one ſon a reverſion, prefer another in the army, and a third in the church; and if you pleaſe, you may expoſe the nation to every indignity *, embezzle or diſſipate her treaſures without examination, much leſs controul; oppreſs Ireland by reſtriction and penſion; ruin, deſolate, perhaps loſe America, by ignorant, impolitic and ſanguinary violence; abandon the mild, inoffenſive natives of India, to the plunder and rapine of a pack of the baſeſt, loweſt, and moſt ignorant ſcoundrels and villains, the ſcandal and reproach of the very name of Engliſhmen †.

* Alluding probably to the affair of Falkland's iſlands, &c. when the nation was conſtrained to arm at ſo great an expence, without any compenſation; and when a war was repreſented by the court, as ſuch a dreadful thing to this country. How very ſoon America made them change their language!

† When this was written, the judges were not ſent out.

Such, ſay they, are the conſequences of conſideration being paid to wealth alone, unſupported by merit or talents; ſuch, of the admiration of the arts of luxury and elegance.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſevere reflections, bordering even on ſatire and exaggeration, ſeveral ingenious writers are of opinion, that in a political light, when the inhabitants of a country are greatly increaſed, when there are more hands than ſufficient to cultivate the ſoil, or to exerciſe the neceſſary and uſeful arts; in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, the arts of elegance and ſuperfluity ſhould be no longer refuſed admittance and encouragement [I]. They allege, that, in ſuch circumſtances, an oppoſite conduct would place us below the level of the neighbour-nations; that the contributions we could afford, would be inſufficient to maintain our importance in the ſcale of Europe. In ſhort, that for want of occupation and employment, the rich would ſink into languor and liſtleſſneſs, the poor be reduced to all the miſeries of neceſſity and wretchedneſs. But did not Sparta preſerve her liberty, and maintain her influence among the poliſhed nations around her, for upwards of ſix hundred years; and had not Rome and Italy, gorged with inhabitants, conquered in a manner the whole world, before they hardly knew what was a picture, a ſtatue, or a poem?

An ample revenue is expedient to give the miniſter a certain influence, and to maintain a numerous ſtanding army: but who will aſſume, that either are eſſential to the happineſs and independence

pendence of any nation? If neither be ſo, no more are the ſources and foundations. The fatal ingenuity of thoſe who practiſe theſe ſuperfluous arts, being the fund both for the one and the other, inſtead of advantageous is pernicious to any people, even in a political light. If you overflow in inhabitants, convey them in colonies to fell the woods, to drain the marſhes, to meliorate and add to creation the boundleſs regions of uncultivated America. Let them not continue to feſter and gangrene within our own bowels, to deluge us in vice, in effeminacy, in an enervating and ignoble attention to the gratification of the palate, the eye, and the hand. Indeed, if the ſuperfluous arts ſerve only to unman our bodies, to enfeeble and corrupt our minds, where would be the loſs to the community, were thoſe who exerciſe them no longer a part of us? Our people would not be ſo numerous, but they would be more robuſt, more vigilant, more upright. The revenue would be conſiderably diminiſhed, but it would ſtill be adequate to all the purpoſes of a juſt and conſtitutional adminiſtration; and the treaſury would afford a leſs ample and unbounded fund for penſions, for acknowledgments, for places and offices, for the corruption of the nobleſt principles, and beſt affections of the mind and the heart.

Again, where the arts of elegance are neglected, men are at a loſs for occupation; cities are not filled by the curioſity of the learned, the vanity of the thoughtleſs, the avarice of the merce-

nary; But were the citizens of Sparta, were the Romans during the virtue of their government, at a loſs for employment? The occupations of agriculture and war, their civil and military purſuits, their exerciſes, their feſtivals and games, were certainly as well adapted to engage the attention and intereſt the affections, as any of the entertainments and amuſements of modern refinement and luxury [K]. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that both in a moral and political light, the arts of luxury and elegance are equally adverſe to the virtue, independence, and happineſs of mixed and free ſtates.

I cannot quit this ſubject, without venturing two or three more reflections. Where property is very unequally divided, without luxury and the arts of taſte and elegance, what would be the condition of the generality, and of the common people? What is now expended in oſtentation and vanity; on the architect, the painter, the ſcenical gardener, the ingenious manufacturer; would ſerve only as formerly to maintain an undiſtinguiſhing hoſpitality, to feed indolent, uſeleſs and licentious dependents and retainers. All the knowledge, principle, activity, induſtry, that enlighten and dignify the middle claſs of people, would preſently diſappear, and be ſupplanted by ignorance, ſervility and ſloth. The whole country being in few hands, the manners of feudal barbariſm and anarchy would return; we ſhould be degraded into nobles and ſlaves. The only expedient, therefore,

fore, to guard againſt ſo unnatural a ſtate of ſociety, and at the ſame time to prevent luxury and its neceſſary conſequences, ſeems to be a ſpecies of Agrarian law (for ſumptuary ones are always either evaded or unexecuted); but which, owing to covetouſneſs and pride, can never be attempted, unleſs with at leaſt the moſt fatal temporary evils. So uncertain and ineffectual are all our reaſonings and precautions, and ſo difficult is it to check the progreſs of corruption, and to retard the tendency of every country to luxury, and in conſequence to private ſelfiſhneſs, and neglect or even contempt of public good; and in the fatal iſſue to ſlavery and ruin, either from a domeſtic or foreign cauſe. Indeed, virtue and humanity, activity, vigour, liberty, ſeem to walk hand in hand with moderate empire, moderate revenue, with convenience and commodiouſneſs, not elegance and refinement. In ſuch times, therefore, as theſe we live in, the utmoſt the well-meaning, and thoſe who love our country can do*, is to endeavour to excite and revive principles of juſtice, of integrity, of humanity, of public ſpirit, of true generoſity, of moderation, of deſire; by inſiſting on the ſelf-ſatisfaction, and general eſteem that accompany them, in the acceptance and re-

* Hear the great ſtateſman to much the ſame purpoſe, "Perché gli e ufficio d' uomo buono, quel bene, che per la malignita de tempi e della fortuna, tu non hai potuto operare, inſegnarlo ad altri, accioche ſendone molti capaci, alcuno di quelli piu amato dal cielo poſſa operarla." Machiavelli Diſcorſi, lib. ii. c. i.

ward they will receive from the Deity, and on the abſurdity and folly (to give it no worſe names) of ſacrificing ſuch valuable advantages, with the hope of a laſting future felicity, for gratifications and enjoyments ſo unſatisfactory, ſo fleeting, and which we hold by ſo weak, ſo precarious, ſo ſhort a tenure. In few words, all that perſons in certain ſituations can attempt, is to perſuade and convince us, that there is no peace or enjoyment but in innocence, integrity and virtue; and that even a very moderate ſituation is preferable to the moſt ſhining and ſplendid circumſtances, when ſought for and obtained by venal and treacherous conduct, by a criminal ſilence and compliance, or a yet more criminal active concurrence.

NOTES.

Note [A], p. 26.

Diodorus Siculus gives a curious account of the degree of refinement, to which the Tuſcans had carried the various articles of accommodation. He ſays, the conſequence was, the loſs of the valour of their forefathers, and a life of ſenſuality and ſloth. Lib. v. And Monteſquieu obſerves, "Tous les peuples d' Italie n' etoient pas également belliqueux; les Toſcans etoient amollis par leur richeſſes, et par leure luxe; les Tarentins, les Capouans preſque toutes les villes de la Campanie et de la grande Greece languiſſoient, dans l' oiſiveté et dans les plaiſirs."

Such was the luxury of the kings of Perſia, that their grain was brought from Aſſus in Æolia, their wine from Syria, their water from Eulæus, being reckoned the lighteſt in the world. Lib. xv. p. 1068. It may be ſaid, that people of the loweſt condition are more luxurious with us; but ſtill the caſes are very different. The tea, ſugar, &c. of the latter, are derived from an extenſive commerce, colonies, &c.; the gratifications of the former were in conſequence of a particular and prodigious expence. The fall of Egypt, of Greece, owing to the perfection of the arts and the conſequent luxury; the aſtoniſhing progreſs of Charles VIII, &c. in Italy,

occaſioned by the effeminacy of Italian manners. After the rapid ſucceſs of the Portugueſe in India, how ſoon did they abandon themſelves to the influence of the climate; how ſoon did refinement in accommodation, delicacy in their tables, magnificence in dreſs, in the means of conveyance, lubricity and ſenſuality in their manners, equally debilitate their minds and bodies, and render them as much the objects of contempt, as they were formerly of terror, to the effeminate and puſillanimous natives? The ſame obſervation is applicable to the Dutch, after their eſtabliſhment, in the ſame regions, (owing to like cauſes), and to the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru. We may alſo obſerve with Machiavel, that nothing is more adverſe to the welfare of any country, as acquiſitions in regions where the arts of luxury and refinement prevail. Vid. Diſcorſi, lib. ii. c. x. Is there then no danger to be apprehended from our ſucceſſes in India; the rapid and aſtoniſhing fortunes acquired there; the inſulting manner in which they are worn among us; the envy, rivalſhip, and prodigality they excite; and the conſequent ſervility and corruption?

NOTE [B], p. 27.

THE Greeks were continually occupied in their exerciſes. In all their principal cities, public games were celebrated, in which the conquerors were crowned in the eyes of all Greece. What an incentive to emulation! Succeſs in war, in theſe times, greatly depended on agility and vigour of body; hence their conſtant ſuperiority over the Aſiatic forces, conſiſting of an undiſciplined, indiſcriminate rabble. With regard to the Romans, in times of peace and even of war, when not engaged in immediate action, their armies (if we may call them ſo) were not enervated and enfeebled by ſloth and indolence, as ours are. Their bodies were hardened and invigorated by turning the courſe of rivers, by repairing

pairing the public roads, and rendered nimble and active by what was termed the military pace, and by the moſt violent of exerciſes, that of running and leaping in all their armour. During the whole courſe of a campaign, a Roman ſoldier was as heavy-laden as an horſe of burthen. The proviſions, the ſubſiſtence, the picks, the ſpades, and other inſtruments of labour; the weighty arms that were born with eaſe and cheerfulneſs by a Roman ſoldier, every day in long marches, and during many months, would have ſunk and overwhelmed a modern one in a few paces. See alſo the reflections of the eloquent Rouſſeau on this ſubject, in his Diſcours ſur le Retabliſſement des Scien. &c. p. 48, 49. And particularly Cicero Tuſculanorum, lib. ii. c. xvi, &c.

Note [C], p. 27.

ON a obſervé que le cinquiéme d' une armée perit au bout d' une campagne, ſoit par les maladies, ſoit par les accidens, ſoit per le fer et le feu. Voltaire ſur M. Law, Melen, &c.

Note [D], p. 28.

SEE to this purpoſe the eloquent Hiſtoire philoſophique et politique des établiſſements, et du commerce des Européens, dans les deux Indes. Vol. vii. p. 363. and 420. Edit. 8vo. 1774.

Note [E], p. 29.

Το τε μεν γαρ ην ὁ τῃ θαλλῃ ςεφανος τιμιος. νυνι δε και ὀχρυσους καλαπεφρονηται. Æſchin. cont. Cteſiphontem, edit. Wolfii. p. 301. "C' eſt une règle generale que les grandes recompenſes dans une monarchie, et dans une republique, ſont un ſigne de leur decadence; parce qu'elles prouvent que leurs principes ſont corrompus; que d' une côte, l' idee de l' honneur n' y a plus tant de force, que de l' autre, le qualité de citoyen s' eſt affoiblie."

Eſprit

Eſprit des Loix, lib. v. c. xviii. Indeed, one of the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of the decline of virtue in a ſtate, and of the aſcendant of ſelfiſhneſs, is the exceſſive rewards given to even real public ſervices. Before an almoſt general corruption has infected the community, merit and talents are flattered, and even elated with the moſt inconſiderable acknowledgments, a crown of olive, of laurel, the public thanks of the ſtate; but in a leſs pure and generous period of manners and ſentiments, penſions, reverſions, &c. are impudently expected and claimed, for merely having held an office, with whatever ability or integrity, or national eſteem.

NOTE [F], p. 30.

IN hiſce ſolis rebus indomitas cupiditates atque effrenatas habebat: ceteræ libidines ejus ratione aliqua aut modo continebantur. Cicero in Verrem. A. ii. lib. i. Was it not owing to ſimilar cauſes, that ſo many of the Roman nobility became regardleſs of the liberty and glory of the commonwealth? Hence the juſtneſs of the reproaches of Marius in Salluſt to the patricians, for the ſenſua land effeminate lives they led in their villas and country-houſes; and hence, afterwards, the ſarcaſms of Cicero in his epiſtles to Atticus, on the generality of his order, for the ſlothful and unworthy manner in which they trifled away their time in their rural retirements, attending to nothing but the ſcenery of their grounds, and the amuſement and care of their fiſh-ponds, training their mullets, &c. to feed from the hand. For as the poet Rhenton ſays: Some of them were good for nothing, others cared for nothing.

Οι μεν παρ᾽ ουδεν εισιν
Οις ουδεν μελει. Lib. i. 20.

Et noſtri autem principes digito ſe cœlum putent attingere, ſi mulli barbati in piſcinis ſint, qui ad manum accedant; alia autem negligant, &c. Lib. ii. 1.

NOTE

NOTE [G], p. 31.

ΕΙ μεν γαρ εκ τοιουτων ὁρμηθεντες προεβιβασαν την πατριδα, δηλον ως εικοτως ταυτα μετεφερον εις την εικειαν δι ων ηυξηθησαν, ει δ' απλουσατοις χρωμενοι βιοις, και πορρωτα τωα, &c. Polybius, lib. ix. p. 64. edit. Gronov.

In the laſt ſtruggles for Roman liberty, when little was wanting but a ſufficient fund to reſtore the republic, the richeſt and moſt opulent citizens, who even wiſhed well to their country, could not be prevailed upon, either by the neceſſity, or the preſſing inſtances of the nobleſt minds, to abridge their expences and uſual train of living, for ſo generous and glorious an end. And Mr. Monteſquieu very well obſerves, that the ſame love of pageantry, &c. was the cauſe of the continuance of the tyranny, when all the offices, honours, and wealth, were at the diſpoſal of one man. "Cependant, quoique la ſource des richeſſes fut coupée, les depenſes ſubſiſtoient toujours; le train de vie etoit pris, et on ne pouvoit plus le ſoutenir que par la faveur de l'empereur." Grand. et Decad. des Rom. c. xiv.

NOTE [H], p. 32.

THE candid may judge, whether our character is altered in any degree ſince the times of Monteſquieu; whether the following features be thoſe of the times we live in. "Il y auroit un luxe ſolide, fondé non pas ſur *le refinement de la vanite*, mais ſur celui des beſoins reels, et l' on ne chercheroit guere dans les choſes que les plaiſirs que la nature y a mis.--On y jouiroit d' un grand ſuperflu, et cependant *les choſes frivoles y ſeroient proſcrites*; ainſi pluſieurs ayant *plus des bien que d'occaſions de depenſe*, l'emploieroient d' une maniere bizzarre; et dans cette nation il y auroit plus d' eſprit que de gout. *Comme on ſeroit toujours occupé de ſes interets, on n'auroit point*

cette politeſſe qui eſt fondée ſur l' oiſevete et reement on n'en auroit pas le temps.—L' epoque de la politeſſe des Romains eſt la meme que celle de l'etabliſſement du pouvoir arbitraire. Le gouvernement abſolu produit l'oiſivetè, et l'oiſiveté fait naitre la politeſſe." De l' Eſprit des Loix, lib. c. xxvii. To the ſame purpoſe Rochefoucault, " Le luxe et la trop grande politeſſe dans les eſtats ſont le preſage aſſuré de leur decadence, parce que tous les particuliers s' attachant a leurs interets propres, ils ſe detournent du bien public."

The account given by Lord Clarendon of the magnificence and unbounded expence of ſome of the nobility in the beginning of the civil wars, is not in oppoſition to this obſervation. Theſe habits and manners were by no means general, but confined chiefly to the court and its followers, and had not diffuſed their baneful infection over the great body of the nobility and gentry. Another noble writer's repreſentation of the manners and principles of thoſe, and the ſucceeding times, till about the acceſſion, is much truer, and more generally applicable; " We were freemen then in the proper ſenſe, and full extent of the word; becauſe not only the laws which aſſerted our common rights, were maintained and improved, but private *independency*, which alone can ſupport public liberty, under ſuch a government as ours, was itſelf ſupported by ſome of that *ancient œconomy* and *ſimplicity of manners*, that were growing, but grown out of faſhion."

Let me alſo refer the reader to ſome fine touches by Rouſſeau, relative to the manners of both ſexes, in the days of that diſpaſſionate obſerver Murault: " Les Angloiſes ſont douces et timides. Les Anglois ſont durs et feroces.—Les deux ſexes aiment a vivre a part tous deux ſe livrent au jeu ſans fureur, et s' en font un metier plutot qu' une paſſion; tous deux ont un grand reſpect pour les choſes honnêtes; tous deux aiment la patrie et

les

les loix; tous deux honorent la foi conjugale; la paix domeſtique plait a tous deux,—pour tous deux l'amour eſt terrible et tragique;—enfin tous deux ſe plaiſent à la campagne, et les dames Angloiſes errent auſſi volontiers dans leurs parcs ſolitaires, qu'elles vont ſe montrer a Vauxhall. De ce gout commun pour la ſolitude naît auſſi celui des lectures contemplatives.—Ainſi tous deux, plus recueillis avec eux-memes, ſe livrent moins à des imitations frivoles, prennent mieux le gout des vrais plaiſirs de la vie, et ſongent moins à paroître heureux qu' à l' être." Rouſſeau à Vir. D'Alembert, p. 138.

Surely we no longer can claim many of theſe amiable features. See alſo what Biſhop Sprat ſays ſo beautifully of our manners in the time of our ſecond Charles, Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 114, and 405, 406, 407.

NOTE [I], p. 34.

AN ingenious French writer obſerves, "Luxury may be neceſſary to give bread to the poor, but were there no luxury there would be no poor."

NOTE [K], p. 36.

SEE in Xenophon's Oeconomics in what manner Iſchomachus paſſes his time. See alſo Plutarch's account, in the life of Lycurgus, of the daily occupations of the Spartans.

III.

SEQUEL to the ESSAY on LUXURY;

OR,

OF THE MANNERS OF A GRECIAN AND ENGLISH WOMAN OF FASHION.

AS ſeveral are of opinion, that the evils lamented in the preceding Eſſay (our preſent effeminacy and venality), are alſo owing in a great meaſure to the change of manners in the other ſex, and the aſcendency they have acquired over us; perhaps, it may neither be unentertaining, nor without its uſe, to give a ſort of picture of the Manners of a Grecian Lady of faſhion and quality, compared with that of an Engliſh Lady of the ſame rank and condition. The inimitable Xenophon will be our beſt guide and aſſiſtant in this moral portrait.

This fine writer, in his Oeconomics or treatiſe of œconomy, introduces a beautiful converſation-piece between Iſchomachus and his new-married lady; both perſons (according to our phraſe) of great rank and fortune. It ſhould ſeem from it, that the ladies of that celebrated country had very different notions of their peculiar duty, and

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paſſed their time in a manner very different from the females of condition and even below it in our own iſland. Perhaps, ſome of my fair readers, and probably their conſorts too, may not be diſpleaſed with a few extracts from this ſenſible and amiable leſſon of a Grecian huſband to his new-married lady.

Socrates is expreſſing his ſurpriſe, that, conſidering Iſchomachus's multiplicity of affairs, and many avocations in the city, yet his private and domeſtic concerns ſhould be ſo well regulated. "O, ſays he, I am very little in the houſe, for my wife is more than equal to the management of every thing within doors." "It will be very obliging in you, Iſchomachus, if you will alſo inform me, whether you yourſelf made your wife what ſhe ought to be, or received her from her father and mother inſtructed by them in the proper duties of her ſex?" "How could that be, ſaid Iſchomachus, ſince ſhe was but fifteen when I married her, and had been brought up before in ſo reſerved a way, that ſhe had ſeen very little, heard very little, and hardly ever opened her lips? Do not you think, it was as much as I could expect, if, when I firſt took her home, ſhe knew how to ſpin, make a gown, and diſtribute the proper weight of wool to her maids; for as to the command of her palate, I found her perfectly inſtructed, a qualification, in my opinion, of great excellence, either in man or in woman." "With regard then to other things that peculiarly belong to her, I ſuppoſe you yourſelf have qualified your wife to do what

is proper?" "Not, ſaid Iſchomachus, till I had ſacrificed and intreated the gods that I might teach her, and ſhe might learn only thoſe things that were beſt for us both." "Then, ſaid I, your wife ſacrificed, and put up her prayers along with you?" "Yes, replied Iſchomachus, and fervently engaging and calling the Gods to witneſs, that ſhe would be what ſhe ought; and it was very evident, that ſhe would be far from negligent in whatever was taught her."

"Be ſo good, as inform me, Iſchomachus, what you firſt began to teach her, for ſuch a ſort of converſation with you, will be much more agreeable to me, than an account of the fineſt gymnick match or horſe-race that ever was." "Well then, Socrates, after ſhe grew a little accuſtomed to me, ſo that we could converſe without reſtraint or embarraſſment, I put ſuch queſtions as theſe to her. Have you ever conſidered, my love, why I married you, or the reaſons that induced your parents to beſtow you upon me? for I know you muſt be very ſenſible, that both of us might have been otherwiſe connected. Notwithſtanding, yet while I was conſidering my own ſituation, and your parents yours, and who would beſt ſuit us both as a domeſtic and matrimonial companion, I preferred you, and as it happened your parents myſelf out of thoſe who offered. If therefore, God ſhould at any time bleſs us with children, we will then adviſe how to educate them in the beſt manner; for it will be our mutual advantage to have them prove the companions and conſola-

tion of our old age: Now, our houſe, or property, is our common good; for whatever I have, I bring into the common ſtock, and you alſo do the ſame; and we are not now to calculate who has brought in moſt, but ought to be well convinced that whichever beſt diſcharges their duty will be the greateſt benefactor. To this, my dear Socrates, my wife replied. In what can I be of uſe to you? what am I capable of? what are my talents? I entirely depend upon you, and my mother told me, it was my peculiar duty to be modeſt and careful. I then ſaid, very true, my love; my father told me the ſame thing. But the duty of modeſt and careful perſons of either ſex, is to manage their preſent property in the beſt manner, and to increaſe it as much as they can, by every juſt and honourable method. And do you ſee any thing, ſaid my wife, by doing which I could contribute with you to this end? Why, truly, I replied, in endeavouring to do in the beſt manner you are able, whatever God and Nature point out as your duty, and which the laws approve. What is that, ſaid ſhe? In my opinion, I added, a matter of no little importance, if however the leader of the bees is not placed to ſuperintend the houſe for nothing; for it appears to me, my dear life, that the gods have with great foreſight enjoined this union called male and female, in order that the parties might be of mutual uſe to each other. For, firſt, by this conjunction children are born, in order that the human race may be continued. We alſo owe to it the love and

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reverence of our children when we grow old. Beſides, as mankind do not live in the open air like other animals, they ſtand in need of houſes. Hence it is neceſſary, that thoſe who would provide themſelves with ſuch things as are conveyed under cover, ſhould have people to prepare and collect them without doors; for the ploughing, the ſowing, the planting of the earth, with the paſturage of cattle, all belong to what is done in the open air, and it is by means of theſe that a houſe is ſupplied with neceſſaries. After ſuch things are brought home, a perſon is required to take care of them, and to do whatever cannot be done but under cover. Now, in the houſe, children, when infants, are reared; in the houſe food is prepared of the grain already collected, and in the ſame manner clothes are made of the wool before put in order. And becauſe all theſe things, whether to be done within or without doors, require labour and care; he is related to have ſaid, that God intended the woman ſhould be naturally qualified to take care of affairs within doors, and the man of thoſe without. And theſe external offices were enjoined the man upon account of his being better able, from the ſtructure both of his body and mind, to bear cold and heat, long journies, and the labours of war; but the internal ones to the woman by the ſame providence, becauſe Nature had given her a frame leſs adapted to thoſe purpoſes. And as he knew that Nature taught and commanded the female to ſuckle her newly born infant, he therefore made her more

attached to it when ſo young than he made the male. In the ſame manner he intruſted to the woman, the cuſtody of the things that were brought home, and knowing that fear is no ill quality in one who is to take care of any thing, God alſo formed the woman more timid and apprehenſive than the man: and being ſenſible that defence was neceſſary, in caſe thoſe employed without doors were attacked, he therefore imparted to him a greater degree of courage. And becauſe it was required of both as well to diſpenſe as to receive, he communicated to each an equal degree of memory and diligence; ſo that it is not eaſy to ſay, which of the ſexes moſt excells in theſe qualities.

"God has alſo equally endowed them with the power of abſtaining from what they ought to abſtain, and left it to their option, whether huſband or wife, which of them ſhould obtain the greateſt ſhare of this good. And ſince they are not by nature, alike capable of all theſe things, one has therefore the greater need of the other, and their union is more beneficial in itſelf, what is defective in one, being ſupplied by the other. Therefore, I ſaid to her, knowing then, my love, what is enjoined to each of us by God, let us exert ourſelves to the utmoſt to diſcharge in the beſt manner we are able, the part aſſigned us.

"The laws alſo (he proceeded) approved theſe things in the union of the ſexes, and as God has ordained their children a common good, ſo has the legiſlature the houſe and every thing belonging to them. Beſides, the laws approve

prove thoſe things which God and Nature enable each of them to do in the eaſieſt and beſt manner. Now it is more becoming the woman to remain within doors than to be occupied abroad, and more out of character for the man to be buſy in the houſe than to be employed without. And if any one acts a part that Nature does not enjoin him, perhaps it cannot be concealed from the Deity that he violates order; who therefore puniſhes him, if he neglect the proper occupation of a man, or meddle in that pertaining to the other ſex.

"And I ſaid, it alſo appears to me, that the ſingular bee, who conducts all the others, is conſtantly buſy about what the Divine Nature enjoins her. And what reſemblance, ſays ſhe, do her duties and offices bear to mine? Why, replied I, remaining in the hive ſhe ſuffers not the bees to be idle, but thoſe who are to work without doors ſhe diſpatches abroad, and whatſoever each of them brings in, ſhe notes and receives, and preſerves it till it be wanted; and when it is neceſſary to uſe it, ſhe diſtributes a proper ſhare to every one. She further ſuperintends the comb or cells that are formed within, that they be properly and expeditiouſly woven; and ſhe inſpects the education of the young offſpring that are born, and when ſhe has brought them up, and they are able to endure fatigue, ſhe ſends them out in a colony under ſome captain or leader. Ought I then, ſays my wife, alſo to do theſe things? It will be neceſſary, I replied,

that you ſtay at home, in order to ſend out the ſervants, who are to be employed abroad; but thoſe who are to be occupied within, you muſt overlook them, and receive what is to be brought home. You muſt, beſides, diſtribute what is to be expended, and with regard to what remains to be laid up; you muſt take care and contrive leſt what ſhould laſt a year be not conſumed in a month. And when the wool is brought home, you muſt ſee that clothes be made of it for thoſe who require them. Care ſhould alſo be taken that the corn be dry and fit for uſe.

"Among the other parts of your peculiar duty, there is one, perhaps that will appear rather diſagreeable to you, it is to be ſo attentive to the health of your domeſtics, that if any of them ſhould be ſick, to uſe every mean for their recovery. That, ſays my wife, will be the moſt pleaſing of all duties, provided thoſe who recover through my means, be grateful, and more attached to me than before. Being much ſurpriſed at this anſwer, ſaid Iſchomachus, I replied, The reaſon of the attachment of the other bees to their queen, is it not owing, my love, to the care ſhe takes of their intereſt in the hive, ſo that ſhould ſhe at any time leave it, none of them think they ought to deſert, but all to follow her? In reply to this, ſhe ſaid, It ſeems ſurpriſing to me that the part of a leader does not rather belong to you than to me, for my cuſtody and diſtribution of what is within doors would be abſurd indeed, unleſs you took care that ſomething ſhould be

be brought from without. I ſubjoined, My bringing it home would alſo be equally ridiculous, were there not ſome one to look after it. Do not you obſerve, ſaid I, how wretched thoſe men are, who as they ſaw, draw with a pierced veſſel, becauſe they ſeem to labour in vain? It is very true, ſays my wife, and they are wretched indeed, if they do ſo.

"There are alſo, my love, ſaid I, other parts of your duty by no means unpleaſant, as when you have got a ſervant ignorant of ſpinning, you inſtruct her, and render her of double the value to you, or one unſkilled in other parts of menial ſervice, you inform her and make her faithful and handy, of how great price is ſhe to you? and when you reward thoſe who are modeſt and uſeful, and puniſh any that is perverſe? And, in fine, what is the moſt deſirable of all things, if you ſhew that you excel me, you will make me your ſervant, and need not be apprehenſive, leſt as you advance in years you will have leſs authority in the houſe, but be perſuaded that the older you grow, and the better manager of my houſe, and mother of my children you ſhew yourſelf, the more will you be reſpected in my family; for increaſe of honour is paid to what is fair and handſome in action, not upon account of perſonal beauty, but of virtues uſeful in human life. Something of this kind, my dear Socrates, to the beſt of my memory, was my firſt converſation with my wife."

After Iſchomachus has given ſeveral other uſeful hints relating to œconomy and the conduct of an houſe, and various inſtances of his wife's modeſty, docility, compliance, and good ſenſe, Socrates replies, "Indeed, Iſchomachus, you prove your wife to be of a very elevated way of thinking." "I muſt alſo relate to you, ſays Iſchomachus, ſome other traits of an uncommon underſtanding, and how, as ſoon as ſhe knew my intentions, ſhe gave the readieſt ſubmiſſion." "Pray do, ſaid I, for it will afford me much more pleaſure to hear of the virtues of a living female-character, than if Zeuxis ſhould ſhew me a portrait of the moſt beautiful woman in the world." Iſchomachus then proceeded, "When, therefore, I once obſerved that ſhe had uſed ſome artifice to appear fairer, and more blooming than her natural complexion, and had even put on high-heeled ſhoes, to appear taller than her natural ſtature; Tell me, my love, ſaid I, by which of theſe proceedings would you think me worthieſt of your affection with regard to our affairs, whether by telling you ingeniouſly the ſtate of my fortunes, without pretending to be worth more than I was, or concealing any thing from you? or, by endeavouring to deceive you, boaſting of more than I was worth, ſhewing you baſe money for good, falſe jewels for true, and adulterate purple for genuine? Haſtily interrupting me, pray do not ſpeak thus of yourſelf, for were you ſuch a character I could not poſſibly love you. I then replied, Were we not connected in order to ſhare mutually in each other's perſons?

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So, anſwered ſhe, the men ſay. In what manner then, added I, ſhall I in this community of perſons, appear more worthy of your affection; whether in endeavouring by care and exerciſe to make my perſon appear to you healthy and robuſt, and having a real wholeſome complexion; or in preſenting myſelf to you, my face ſtained with vermilion, and my eyelids with purple, and thus converſe with you purpoſely to deceive you, and inſtead of my natural feel and complexion, obtruding what is counterfeit both to your ſight and touch? Indeed, anſwered ſhe, neither would vermilion be ſo agreeable to my touch as your natural ſelf, nor the rich luſtre of purple as your own complexion, nor your eyes anointed and ſmeared as clear and well. Then, my dear wife, continued Iſchomachus, in the ſame manner be perſuaded, that neither ceruſe or rouge are near ſo agreeable to me as your native complexion; for in the ſame manner, as the gods have made other animals beſt pleaſed with each other in their natural ſtate, ſo it likewiſe holds in the human ſpecies. Theſe artifices, indeed, may impoſe on ſtrangers, in ſuch a manner as to eſcape detection; but thoſe who conſtantly live together, if they mutually attempt to deceive one another, muſt certainly be found out; for either when they riſe from bed, they are diſcovered before they are dreſſed, or betrayed by perſpiration, or in fine by the bath." "Pray then, ſaid I, what reply did ſhe make to all this? What elſe, than for the future never to make uſe of ſuch ſort of devices, but

but always to preſent herſelf to me perfectly neat and clean.

"She alſo aſked me, if I could tell her how to acquire a good complexion, without only appearing to have one; I therefore, my dear Socrates, adviſed her not to ſit conſtantly ſtill, in a ſervile-like way, but liberally to exert herſelf, by ſtanding by the loom, and teaching her people what ſhe knew better than they, and learning what ſhe knew not ſo well; alſo by inſpecting her baker, overlooking when any thing was meaſured out, and going through the houſe, and ſeeing that every thing was diſpoſed in its proper place; for theſe things appear to me to partake both of attention and exerciſe. I ſaid, likewiſe, it was a wholeſome employment to ſift flour, and to fold linen and clothes. I added, that this ſort of exerciſe would make her ſit down to table with a better appetite, give her more cheerful health, and afford her a real beautiful complexion. And I dare ſay, Socrates, you will believe me when I tell you, that my wife has always made theſe hints and admonitions the rule of her life and manners."

How different are theſe notions from ours! What ideas of induſtry, of utility, of reſerve and retirement? What an amiable diſſuaſive from falſe and diſingenuous pretenſions to ſtature and complexion, the lily and the roſe? Notwithſtanding our ſo much boaſted refinement, our improvements in the arts of ſocial intercourſe and converſation; I cannot help inclining to believe,

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that the lives of the Athenian ladies, were not only more pure and innocent, but more placid and happy than thoſe of the ſame rank, in modern times. It is true, they were excluded from general ſociety, from places of public and promiſcuous reſort, from which, even with us, reflecting and ſenſible minds ſeldom return but with wearineſs and diſguſt; but their minds and ſpirits were always uſefully employed, and agreeably agitated with their domeſtic occupations; and the intercourſe with their parents, huſbands, &c. was much more endearing and wiſhed for with more longing expectation, by reaſon it was their only ſociety, and enjoyed only during the intervals on the male-ſide, of conſtant action and employment without doors, and in the open air in affairs of agriculture, politics or war [A].

Indeed, the ideas of female duty, and the general manners of the ladies of Greece, made indolence and inoccupation of no repute among them. Idleneſs was not only reproach but miſery; it not only loſt them the eſteem and affection of their huſbands, &c. but if they could not amuſe themſelves with the ingenuity of the diſtaff and loom, and the conduct of their families, they had not the pernicious reſource of Pantheons, of an Almack's, of public rendezvouſes for play and gallantry, where the underſtanding and the heart are equally perverted; where our fair ones are equally diſqualified from acting the part of daughters, wives or mothers; where health is undermined, where the roſe and bloom of youth and beauty

beauty is ſoon overcaſt by a ſickly pale and ſaffron; where the moſt fatal and extravagant deſires and paſſions are acquired and nouriſhed, and where all taſte for ſimple genuine pleaſure, for female duty, for female praiſe, is entirely loſt and abandoned.] This long train of evils ſeems in great meaſure to ariſe from the late abſurd notion and practice, of making it one of the diſtinctions and privileges of female rank and fortune, to do nothing and to be uſeleſs; and hence in a high degree the ruin of the modeſty, virtue, and even happineſs of the fair ſex among us. For the human mind muſt be occupied in ſome way or other, either uſefully or viciouſly. And, if few of them have any taſte for letters, if muſic has no charms for them; if the duties of devotion have no ſhare in their thoughts; if the ingenuity of the needle do not divide their attention and time, what muſt be the natural, the unavoidable conſequence? In town, an eternal diſſipation, every ſcene of amuſement and faſhionable reſort, fatigued and nauſeated with their vacant and diſſatisfied countenances, criminal attachments, gaming not play, loſs of health, loſs of reputation, neglect of the true glory of woman, the inſpection of family concerns, the education of children, the affection and eſteem of an huſband. In the country, either a relaxing indolence in the place of repoſe and tranquillity, or a perpetual race and buſtle inſtead of ſuitable exerciſe; country Newmarkets, country pantheons, &c. &c. in a word no rational or becoming enjoyment. However,

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we muſt do our fair readers the juſtice to acknowledge (and we do it with pleaſure), that there are many exceptions; but ſtill we could wiſh they were more diſtinguiſhed and more numerous.

Theſe were not always the attributes of our fair countrywomen. It is only ſince it became faſhionable to take our families to town with us during our attendance in parliament, that this contempt of female duty and praiſe began gradually to gain ground, and the paſſion for diſſipation, gaming and gallantry, to increaſe and prevail. My Lord Clarendon informs us (and laments the change) that till the civil wars (ſo calamitous to cotemporaries, ſo fortunate for poſterity in the iſſue), we left our wives and daughters behind us, and were ſatisfied with even an indifferent lodging in town; conſidering ourſelves as it were in an inn, dedicating our time to affairs and the public buſineſs; and with a laudable and even prudent ſelf-denial, relinquiſhing our enjoyments and pleaſures, till the ſuſpenſion or concluſion of public buſineſs permitted our return to our homes and tendereſt connexions. Theſe temporary ſeparations ſtrengthened inſtead of weakening conjugal and natural affection. They gave a poignancy and zeſt to ſatisfactions and enjoyments, ſometimes apt to cloy and ſatiate by long and uninterrupted fruition. But the tumultuous times that followed, the King's diſingenuouſneſs and obſtinacy, and the expedients that were found neceſſary to aſſert our violated conſti-

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tution, deſtroyed this happy ſyſtem of life. A conſtant, no longer a caſual or temporary attendance in parliament became neceſſary. The reſtoration for ſome time continued the practice, and alſo introduced the diſſipations and gallantries of France. The memoirs of Count Anthony Hamilton give a very lively picture of the licence of thoſe times. Then exceſs in pleaſure, in criminal intrigue, ſo far from being reckoned profligate and infamous, was even countenanced, encouraged and authoriſed by royal practice and example. The decent, exemplary, and almoſt reſerved reign of William and Mary brought us back again to our natural Engliſh manners. His health, his temper, the ſituation of his affairs, made him diſlike a town reſidence, and fond of the amuſements of exerciſe and the chace. His amiable conſort had no inclinations but thoſe of her royal huſband. Hence this life of nature and real pleaſure was again revived among us. It preſerved its credit during the greater part of the reign of Queen Anne; a princeſs neither eminent for good or bad qualities. Since that period, a vaſt increaſe of wealth, conſequently of luxury and refinement in all our pleaſures and enjoyments, has ſpoiled and vitiated our reliſh for pure and natural gratifications, and ſeduced us again to prefer the buſtle of unmeaning viſits, the glare of public places, the agitations and ſecret agonies of play, the perfidious ſighs of a gallant, to quiet walks, wholeſome air, the eſteem and affection of a huſband, and the engaging familiarity of a country friend

friend and neighbour. We are lodged as commodiouſly and magnificently in our town reſidences as in our villas or caſtles, and ſeldom wiſh to viſit the latter, till the ſuffocating heat, duſt and ſmell of the town, and in a manner neceſſity, compel us.

Though conſidering the times we live in, it is by no means intended to recal our wives and daughters entirely to the manners alluded to in note below; yet perhaps it may be allowable modeſtly to wiſh, that they would think it worth while, to beſtow a little more of their leiſure in the improving and adorning of their taſtes and underſtandings [B]. Their fair progenitors, in the reign of that extraordinary princeſs, Queen Elizabeth [C], and even ſo late as that of Queen Mary [D], united an attention to polite letters, to the ingenuity of the needle, and the cares of œconomy. Both Elizabeth, and the ladies of her court, excelled not only in the latter, but could alſo be entertained with a Greek or Latin hiſtory or drama. But the increaſe and perfection of manufacture, and the ſcience and refinement of modern cookery, render excellence in the former accompliſhments no longer indiſpenſable; and the comparative eaſy acquiſition of the French language, with her many inſtructive and entertaining authors, not to mention our own, confine Greek and Latin in a manner to the learned profeſſions. But why then, may not our fair companions, now more than ever, be able to entertain themſelves when alone, or even in company, with the politeſt writers either

either of our own language, or of that of our ingenious neighbours on the continent? As by the progreſs of the arts of manufacture, and the refinement, as it is called, of our manners, their duty ſeems now to be confined to the education and conduct of their children, and the bearing a part in converſation? Why ſhould they be ignorant of that ſort of knowledge and information that may be ſo eaſily acquired, and of which, to be ignorant, is meanneſs of ſpirit, or deficiency of common ſenſe and underſtanding? Polite literature, and a taſte for the fine arts, muſick, painting, deſign and gardening, are now more generally diffuſed than ever in male ſociety. So that if our fair companions (who now ſeem afraid to leave us alone) [E], will not take a little more pains to inſtruct themſelves (the inclination is almoſt enough), their inſipidity (pardon the expreſſion, but we ſoon weary of ſimple features) will oblige us to diſmiſs our cooks, turn our milliners out of their ſhops, and again ſend our wives and daughters to conſerves, paſtry and plain-work.

When they may read Homer and Virgil in ſuch beautiful Engliſh; when a Plutarch invites them to an acquaintance with the moſt illuſtrious names of antient times, and to learn to judge and diſtinguiſh the characters of men; when more modern manners and occurrences are painted to them by a Voltaire, a Sully, a Clarendon, a Hume, a Robertſon; when they have remote and diſtant countries deſcribed to them by ſuch travellers

vellers as a Chardin, a La Loubere, a Bernier, &c. when the pathetick, the deſcription, the ſentiment, the harmony, the ſublimity of poetry, ſolicits them from the days of Spenſer, to thoſe of Mr. Maſon and Mr. Gray; from Racine and Moliere, to Greſſet and Marmontel; when the maxims of moral duty, of converſation and conduct, are recommended to them with the good humour and gaiety of Montaigne, with more ſerioufneſs and gravity by a La Bruyere; how can they forbear* reading, reflecting, and being ambitious of eſteem, and even of praiſe?

It is hoped, this haſty and ſuperficial view of the manners of the fair-ſex in remote ages, under popular government, and in more modern times, and under the inſtitutions of monarchy, will be read with candour and indulgence. It is dictated by love, eſteem, admiration. It is written with a view to expoſe, and, if poſſible, explode a faſhionable, but pernicious waſte of time and manner of life; and to revive a taſte for the purſuits of utility, as well as natural pleaſure; for the acquiſition of knowledge adapted to the ſex; for the heart-felt, genuine ſatisfactions ariſing from the diſcharge of female duty as daughters, as wives, as mothers of children, as miſtreſſes of

* It may be objected to the above reflections, that perhaps we could boaſt at no period of a greater number of female writers than at preſent; yet we ſhould conſider there is but one Mrs. Montague; the reſt, notwithſtanding their merit, are of inferior rank and condition.

families, as enlightened companions. In few words, it is written (from a moſt ardent wiſh) to render the moſt amiable part of intelligent creation, as much the objects of affection and eſteem, as of paſſion and deſire.

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 59.

INDEED, nothing can be juſter than the obſervation of the moſt eloquent of moraliſts, and philoſophers. —J'ajoute, qu'il n'y a point de bonnes mœurs pour les femmes hors d'une vie retirée & domeſtique; je dis, que les paiſibles ſoins de la famille & du ménage, ſont leur partage; que la dignité de leur ſexe eſt dans ſa modeſtie; que la honte & la pudeur, ſont en elles inſeparables de l'honnêtete; que rechercher les regardes des hommes, c'eſt déjà s'en laiſſer corrompre; & toute femme qui ſe montre, ſe deſhonnore." Rouſſeau & D' Alembert, p. 139. See in the ſame treatiſe, a beautiful picture of a woman in her true and proper ſphere, p. 148.

NOTE [B], p. 63.

THE wiſe Plutarch, in Conjugalia Precepta, or Conjugal Precepts, adviſes huſbands to render familiar to their wives, the beſt authors, and the moſt uſeful ſubjects of converſation. Among other good effects, he adds, nothing will be of ſuch ſervice in preſerving them from idle ſuperſtitious notions of ghoſts, witches, omens, dreams, unlucky days, numbers, &c. He juſtly condemns any kind of ſeparate, independent property, as what we call pin-money, and as productive of the worſt effects. He thinks, with Swift, that their friends

and acquaintance ſhould be thoſe of their huſbands; and their beſt enjoyments, at home in the boſom of their families. It is pity this treatiſe of Plutarch, and Dr. Swift's letter, were not more read and obſerved by our ladies of condition and quality. We ſhould not then ſee ſo many of them the diſgrace and reproach of their ſex, gamblers, proſtitutes, ſpendthrifts; and out of a ſilly, abſurd vanity, and itch of notice and diſtinction, rendering dreſs, inſtead of a convenience and an ornament, a trouble, and a ſpectacle; nay almoſt a bugbear, with their plumes and towers, and ſuch like barbarous decorations; and inverting the courſe of nature, turning day into night, and night into day, and wiſhing for flowers, fruits, &c. at any time rather than at their proper ſeaſon and moderate price.

In the times of Roman degeneracy and corruption under their emperors, Lucian alludes to the ſame prodigal, perverſe and unnatural wiſhes and deſires. They drank their wine perfumed, would have roſes, &c. in winter; and loved nothing but as out of ſeaſon, and againſt the order of nature. See his Nigrinus.

NOTE [C], p. 63.

LORD BACON informs us in his Advancement of Learning, that it was the daily practice of Elizabeth, during her long, active, and anxious reign, to ſet apart certain hours to the reading of the beſt authors. She even wrote and tranſlated ſeveral pieces. Mr. Walpole gives us the liſt in his royal and noble authors. The ladies of her court valued themſelves on their knowledge and learning. Lady Burleigh, Lady Bacon, and their ſiſters (all of them the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cook), were familiarly acquainted with both the learned and modern languages, and conſidered this accompliſhment as more honourable to them, than

their rank and quality. Anne, the ſecond of theſe, and wife to the Lord Keeper Bacon, gave an exact and elegant tranſlation of Biſhop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England. It was even publiſhed by the ſpecial order of Archbiſhop Parker. And who has not wept the undeſerved and melancholy fate of the amiable and accompliſhed Lady Jane Gray? She underſtood, ſpoke, and wrote, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and read Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic. When harſhly treated by her parents (what hearts muſt they have had!) it is ſaid her conſolation was Plato and Demoſthenes. We know from Roger Aſcham himſelf, that when he waited upon her in her fourteenth year, he found her reading the former author, the reſt of the family being engaged in amuſements in the park. The three daughters alſo of the houſe of Seymour, the nieces of a queen, the daughters of a protector, were all of them famous for their beautiful Latin poetry, which was even tranſlated into the various languages of Europe. The virtuous, and almoſt heroic daughter of the illuſtrious Sir Thomas More, not to mention her ſiſters, was equally eminent for learning and piety. It was probably owing to the inſenſible influence of the divine writings of the antients, that notwithſtanding the frowns of authority, ſhe had the pious reſolution to conſole the ſorrows of a parent in priſon; to purchaſe at a very high price, the liberty of paying his remains ſome kind of funeral reſpect; to incur being thrown into chains, accuſed of preſerving his head as a relic, and his books and works, as monuments of his impiety, &c. She appear d before his unrighteous judges, with a modeſt and becoming confidence, and juſtified her conduct with eloquence. We may be allowed to attribute this noble behaviour to the generous ſentiments and maxims ſhe was continually converſant with. Indeed good authors have the ſame influence on our opinions and ideas of merit and virtue,

that good company has on our manners and behaviour. The latter gives eaſe, propriety, and grace; the former enlighten and warm, and excite to a noble emulation. Still further, to ſhew the manners of the fair ſex in the age alluded to (their œconomy as well as learning), I cannot help tranſcribing a very curious note from Mr. T. Warton's obſervations on Spenſer, which I fear few of them will read there. It is given by one Harriſon, a cotemporary writer.—"Beſides "theſe things, I could in like ſort ſet down the ways "and means, whereby our antient ladies of the court "do ſhun and avoid idleneſs; ſome of them exerciſing "their fingers with the needle, others in caul-work, "diverſe in ſpinning of ſilk, ſome in continual read-"ing, either of the Holy Scriptures, or hiſtories of our "own and foreign nations about us, and diverſe in "writing volumes of their own, and tranſlations of "other men's into our Engliſh and Latin tongue; "while the youngeſt ſort, in the mean time, apply "their lutes, cithorns (a kind of harp), prick-ſong, "and all kinds of muſick, which they uſe only for re-"creation ſake, when they are free from attendance on "the Queen's majeſty. How many of the eldeſt ſort "alſo are ſkilful in ſurgery, and diſtillation of ſtrong "waters, beſides ſeveral other artificial practices, per-"taining to the ornature and commendation of their "bodies. There is in a manner none of them, but "when they be at home, can help to ſupply the ordi-"nary want of the kitchen, with a number of diſhes of "their own deviſing, &c." Our faſhionable ladies will ſmile, and turn a ſneer of contempt on moſt of theſe occupations, but with little reaſon, too few of them being ſo innocently or laudably employed; even the diſtillation of ſtrong waters, and ſupplying the ordinary want of the kitchen (which will moſt ſhock and alarm

their falſe delicacy), is ſurely preferable, and not ſo diſcrediting, as gambling and ſenſual intrigue, or the flippant unmeaning converſation of places of faſhionable reſort and diſſipation.

NOTE [D], p. 63.

I Think Biſhop Burnet relates of that amiable princeſs, that her majeſty and the ladies of her bed-chamber, divided their time between reading and ſome work of female ingenuity, and that generally one read aloud to the reſt employed as above. But take it in his Lordſhip's own words: "Her behaviour indeed was very "exemplary; ſhe was exactly regular both in her pri-"vate and public devotions; ſhe was much in her clo-"ſet, and read a great deal; ſhe was often buſy at "work," &c. Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. iv. p. 70. edit. Edinb. And again, "She took ladies off from that "idleneſs, which not only waſted their time, but ex-"poſed them to many temptations. She engaged many "both to read and to work; ſhe wrought many hours "a day herſelf, with her ladies and her maids of ho-"nour, working about her, while one read to them all. "—She did divide her time ſo regularly, between her "cloſet and her buſineſs, her work and her diverſion, "that every minute ſeemed to have its proper employ-"ment. She expreſſed ſo deep a ſenſe of religion, "with ſo true a regard to it," &c. Ibid. p. 195.

How much were it to be wiſhed, that our modern fine and court ladies, would imitate the beautiful example of domeſtic happineſs, and ſuitable occupation, of an illuſtrious princeſs, who ſo honourably divides and adorns the private life and hours of his preſent Majeſty.

Note [E], p. 64.

IT is pretended by ſome, that the paſſing ſo much of our time in the company and converſation of the fair-ſex, has greatly contributed to enfeeble our minds and debaſe our characters. In order to amuſe and pleaſe them, we find it neceſſary to adapt the tenour of our diſcourſe, to their effeminacy of ſentiment, and confined information. We dare not hazard any thing ſerious; knowledge is called pedantry, and reflection, moralizing or preaching. Hence the recourſe to private and ſcandalous anecdote, the cenſure of the follies and weakneſſes of the little circle of our acquaintance and friends, but eſpecially to cards, that convenient thief of time, and implacable enemy to all thought, benevolence, and œconomy. Hence to the admiration of ſuperfluity, refinement, and pageantry, in our manner of living, in our tables, and in all the particulars and minuteneſſes of accommodation. Life, exiſtence, is valued chiefly as a theatre of enjoyment for the gratification of the palate and the ſenſes; not as a ſcene for the exerciſes of benevolence and our beſt inclinations and talents. When we overflow in the means of gratification, to diſſipate and pervert them, in oſtentation, idle expence, and prodigality; when otherwiſe, and our fortunes are moderate, to acquire the one and increaſe the other by compliance; and venality is not only cenſured in their company and in their thoughts, but is even recommended and dignified with the name of prudence, wiſdom, and *knowledge of the world* (a mighty knowledge this in the apprehenſion of ſome people, but in reality nothing more than a familiarity with vice, with a want of truth, honour and virtue in others, no awkward abhorrence and ſurpriſe at them, and a heart and mind prepared to practiſe them, when a favourable opportunity preſents itſelf. This, too generally, when

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ſtript of its vain diſguiſes, is the mighty ſcience called the knowledge of the world). And hence is inferred, in a great degree, the inferiority in good ſenſe, virtue, and ſcience, of the ſubjects of regal governments, to the citizens of more equal and popular ſtates, both in antient and in modern times. The only remedy to this fatal increaſing evil, ſeems to be (as hinted above), to ſubject our wives and daughters to plain work and domeſtic occupations, or to new model their manners and education.

IV.

OF UNRESTRAINED POWER; The Corrupter of the beſt NATURES, the incentive to the worſt ACTIONS.

What more ſavage, wild and cruel than man, if he ſee himſelf able, either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to overbear, the laws whereunto he ſhould be ſubject?
Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, book v. ſect. 11.

1.

THE deſire of power and conſideration is natural to man. It is the motive to his beſt and to his worſt actions. It is purſued by a Dion, by a Timoleon, with a view to diffuſe liberty and happineſs; by a Dionyſius, by an Agathocles, to ſatiate an unprincipled and deſtructive ambition. Yet, although this love of power be ſo general, when it is poſſeſſed beyond a certain degree and meaſure, it is almoſt conſtantly fatal to intereſt, virtue, and felicity. It inflames the moſt criminal and deſtructive paſſions, it corrupts the moſt humane and gentle natures. What, indeed, ſo adverſe to moderation, to humanity, to equal juſtice, as the dangerous

gerous and ſtimulating conſciouſneſs of being above all account or controul; that when we ſpeak, equity and law muſt mourn in impotence and ſilence, that all who approach us, inſtead of expoſtulating, much leſs of cenſuring or avenging, muſt and will applaud our moſt flagrant and wanton violations of juſtice and humanity. How often is ſuch fatal knowledge, ſuch pernicious licence, the motive and the cauſe of the moſt horrid and incredible exceſſes. It confounds all ideas of right and wrong, it involves the innocent with the guilty, it wreaks its inconſiderate fury in omiſſions and crimes with equal and diſtinguiſhing ſeverity. All hiſtory is crowded with examples of this melancholy truth, till corrupted by power, and the licence of authority, who ſo humane and irreproachable in their lives and manners, as they who were afterwards ſo juſtly branded with the infamous title and appellation of the Thirty Tyrants. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis relates the ſame of the Roman Decemvirs †. Before intoxicated and depraved by power, he repreſents Appius, the ſoul of that abominable confederacy, as a man of virtue, a lover of juſtice and of his country, an enemy to odious diſtinctions, and as deſirous of perſuading all his fellow-citizens to conſider the commonwealth as one body; yet into what a monſter of tyranny, luſt and cruelty, did he not afterwards degenerate? Quintus Fabius *, ſurnamed Vibulanus, and

† Lib. x. 54. * Dionyſius Hal. lib. x. 58.

who

who had been thrice Conſul, was alſo eminently virtuous, till blinded by ambition, and perverted by the ſuggeſtions of Appius, he gave into, and adopted his wicked ſyſtem of conduct*. The young nobility too, notwithſtanding their virtuous education, former moderation, and deſire of public eſteem, were ſeduced into the ſame views by like perſuaſions and arguments, and confirmed in them by the reward of their compliance and ſupport, the confiſcation and ſpoils of the effects, property and eſtates of the unhappy ſufferers, their deluded and oppreſſed fellow-citizens. The progreſs of Tiberius's abominable impurities and crimes; the mild and even ſoft nature of Nero, in the dawn and beginning of his reign, and after improvement in all kinds of vice and wickedneſs, in proportion to the feeble and puſillanimous oppoſition, and even encouragement they met with, we ſtill read with indignation and horror. Though the humane and benevolent ſpirit of reformed Chriſtianity, in union with other cauſes, has reſtrained in a great degree this mad career of vice and cruelty in the modern princes of Europe; yet it ſtill disfigures and pollutes the page of hiſtory with too many inſtances, and in the unenlightened regions of Aſia and the Eaſt, where ſenſuality, tyranny, and cruelty, ſeem to have eſtabliſhed their throne from time immemo-

* Livy's words are, "Hunc enim virum (Fabium) egregium olim domi, militiæque, decemviratus collegæque ita mutaverint ut Appii quam ſui ſimilis eſſe mallet." Livy, lib. iii. cap. 41.

rial,

rial, the ſame exceſſes and enormities ſtill prevail, and alarm and terrify every day the effeminate and daſtardly inhabitants, the culpable and unhappy objects of them.

After theſe general obſervations, it may not, perhaps, be unintereſting, or without its uſe, to ſee them ſupported and enforced by a more particular enumeration of facts and examples. Such an hiſtorical ſeries, though it may not place the human character in a very amiable point of view, yet will at leaſt contribute to our more perfect knowledge of it (and what knowledge is of ſuch importance to us?); and may alſo help to preſerve preſent and future princes from imitating ſuch unworthy proceedings, and caution people and nations from intruſting princes and magiſtrates with a degree of authority deſtructive of all the ends of government, and incompatible with either reaſon or humanity.

For obvious reaſons, however, and leſt it ſhould be objected by ignorance and corruption, that ſuch abominable ſcenes are incredible, and can never be again repeated, theſe facts and inſtances ſhall not be taken from the lives of ſuch madmen and monſters as were ſeveral of the petty tyrants of Greece, or more extenſively formidable ones of Aſia or of Rome; but chiefly from princes of mixed characters, and whoſe good qualities and virtues ſeem in a great meaſure to have equalled or over-balanced their vices and crimes. Such a method will convince us, that danger is always to be apprehended, and that a conſtant habit of vigilance is neceſſa-

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ry in order to preſerve a free and equal government, and to guard againſt the encroachments and exorbitances (which will always be attempted, unleſs checked and reſtrained by the fear of control and puniſhment) of magiſtrates and miniſters in power and authority. We ſhall begin from a very early period.

When our propenſities are not enured to reſtraint and command, they ſoon become reſtleſs and ungovernable. Every thing combines in a peculiar manner to inflame the deſires and paſſions of princes, of perſons of unlimited power and authority. Cruelty is their darling reſource. It is the general means by which they gratify and ſatiate their odious and deteſtable paſſions of ambition, malice, fear, revenge.

When Paterbemis, one of the moſt virtuous and conſiderable perſons of Egypt, was ſent by Apries his ſovereign, with orders to bring alive into his preſence Amaſis, who was at the head of a numerous army in rebellion againſt him; and returning without him, as might well be expected, Apries ſaid not a word, but in a tranſport of abſurd diſappointment and rage, commanded his ears and noſe to be cut off *.

Unreſtrained power infatuates and brutifies to ſuch a degree, that when our projects or caprices are concerned, we expect even the feelings of nature to be relinquiſhed, and, but the appearance of backwardneſs in ſuch caſes, drives us to exer-

* Herodotus, lib. ii.

ciſe

cife even a wantonneſs of cruelty. Thus when Darius, far from a tyrant, and who had been raiſed to royalty from a private condition, was on his march againſt the Scythians, Oebazus, a reſpectable Perſian, who had three ſons in the army, with the tenderneſs natural and excuſable in a parent, eſpecially conſidering the character of the enemy, and the imprudence of the expedition, came to him, requeſting and intreating that one of the three might be permitted to remain at home with him; the king, in anſwer, with the malicious diſſimulation characteriſtic of majeſty, ſpoke very kindly and graciouſly to him, ſaying, the favour he aſked was trifling, and that, ſo great was his regard for him, he would leave all his ſons with him. The fond parent received the anſwer with infinite gratitude and joy, flattering himſelf that all his ſons would receive their diſmiſſion from the army: but Darius commanded the officers appointed for ſuch purpoſes to put them all to death, and thus left them with their father *.

We read with equal indignation and abhorrence, another inſtance of the ſame nature in Xerxes (in which, however, princely paſſion overcomes princely diſſimulation). It is, when Pytheus, the Lydian, preſuming on the magnificent entertainment he had juſt given to that prince and his immenſe army, and his no leſs ſplendid offer of his great treaſures, towards defraying the expence of the war againſt Greece, came to beg that the eldeſt of his five ſons, all of whom were in the Perſian army,

* Herodotus, lib. iv.

might

might be excuſed following the king into Greece, and, out of pity to his old age, be left at home with his father, to take care of him and of his eſtate; the unfeeling prince, inſtead of gratifying the good and generous old man in ſo pardonable a requeſt, flew into a violent rage, and immediately orders the innocent youth to be put to death, and then, his body being ſevered into two parts, the one lying on the right, the other on the left hand of the way, the whole army to paſs between them *.

Diſappointment in the moſt impracticable and abſurd projects, excites to the ſame wanton and atrocious deeds of blood and murder. After the deſtruction, by a ſtorm, of the ſame prince's extravagant bridge over the Helleſpont, and his ridiculous chaſtiſement of that arm of the ſea, adding inhumanity and cruelty to folly, impiety, and blaſphemy, according to his religion, he ordered the heads of thoſe perſons who had the direction of the workmen to be ſtruck off. Such (adds Herodotus) was all the recompence of their pains and ingenuity in contriving the bridge †.

It would require innumerable volumes to enumerate the black crimes of which princes have been guilty in acquiring, maintaining, and enlarging dominion. Every one remembers the emblematical anſwer given by Periander to the meſſenger of Thraſybulus, who, going with him into a field of wheat, ſtruck off all the largeſt and talleſt ears; intimating, that thus his maſter ſhould

* Herodotus, lib. vii. † Ibid.

treat the moſt opulent and principal citizens of Corinth, in order to reign with the greater ſecurity *. Upon a ſimilar occaſion, Tarquinius gave the ſame princely advice to his ſon Sextus, with regard to the citizens of Gabii †.

Though ſuch inſtances as theſe, how deſerving ſoever of cenſure and abhorrence, do not ſo much ſurpriſe us upon account of their frequency and multiplicity in hiſtory; yet we may be allowed to expreſs our wonder, that princes ſhould often ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported, by the exorbitancy of their deſires and paſſions, to make no diſtinction between the greateſt crimes and the moſt trifling omiſſions; to conſpire againſt virtue and their own ſafety; to confound every idea of innocence and guilt, by expreſſing their diſapprobation and reſentment indiſcriminately, by the heavieſt of human puniſhments, death, deprivation of life, of exiſtence. I am induced to make this obſervation, by a paſſage in the life of the younger Cyrus (a prince, in other reſpects, generous and magnanimous), and which, I think, might have almoſt deterred ſo humane a writer as Xenophon, from immortalizing his daring, though unſucceſsful attempt ‡. It is related in the ſecond book of Xenophon's Greek hiſtory, and regards perſons of no leſs dignity than of the royal family. The hiſtorian's words are: The ſame year, Cyrus put to death Autobæſaces and Mitræus, the ſons of the

* Herodotus, lib. v. † Dionyſius Hal. lib. iv. c. 56.

‡ Indeed, Xenophon's chief view in writing that beautiful narrative, was to do honour to himſelf and the Greeks.

ſiſter

ſiſter of Darius, whoſe father was Xerxes as well as hers. The cauſe of their death was, that happening to meet him, they had not put their hands in the folds or cuffs of their ſleeves; a mark of reſpect paid only to the king *; and theſe folds or cuffs are a little longer than the ſleeve, in which, when one puts one's hands, one can do nothing [A].

It may perhaps be alleged, that theſe inſtances regard princes not ſoftened and enlightened by letters and philoſophy, and more equal and moderate modes of government. But I fear experience will too fully convince us, that the influence of theſe, when not ſupported and ſtrengthened by the apprehenſion of diſagreeable conſequences, is very feeble, ineffectual, and confined: for did not Alexander, accuſtomed to the humanity and moderation of Greece, and nurſed in the very boſom of Ariſtotle; did not, on many other occaſions, the generous and ſympathiſing Alexander, ſtab with his own hands, and at his own table, Clitus, one of his friends of neareſt truſt, and who had been all along educated with him in letters and arms? And for what reaſon; of what crime, of what enormity, of what horrible ſpecies of treaſon, had he been guilty? Juſtly partial to the equal cuſtoms of Greece, he had diſcovered (perhaps too openly) his diſlike and diſapprobation of the unmanly and debaſing expreſſions of reſpect peculiar to deſpotic and Aſiatic manners. For as

* Xenophon, vol. iii. p. 65. edit. Wells.

ungenerous and unworthy a reaſon did he not, like a brutal tyrant, expoſe Lyſimachus to the hunger and fury of lions [B]. It is equally or more alarming that Sylla, though educated and living under a republic and highly popular form of government, and alſo inſtructed in all the learning of Greece, ſhould have diſhonoured his character and country by ſo many inſtances of almoſt incredible cruelty and barbarity. Unreſtrained by cenſure or fear, and ſupported by a faction, he ſacrificed to his malice and revenge, not only the feelings of a gentleman, but of a man. Who can read the account of only his barbarities to M. Marius without horror and deteſtation? of Marius, to whom the Roman people had erected ſtatues in every ſtreet; whom they had ſupplicated with incenſe and wine? He ordered his legs to be broken, his eyes to be put out, his hands to be cut off*. Dread of the conſequences being removed, perſons in power are tranſported to take a diabolical ſatisfaction in deeds of the moſt extravagant and wanton cruelty. How many Roman knights and perſons of conſular dignity did not Cæſar order, in one and the ſame day, to be torn with ſtripes, and put to death in torture, merely by way of amuſement. Nay, ſuch was his impatience and delight in this horrid entertainment†, that, fancy ſtriking him, and impotent to wait the delay of the morning, he orders ſome of theſe, with ſeveral ladies, to be beheaded by torch or candle

* Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. xviii. † Ibid.

light.

light. But let me not have recourſe to examples from which I have in a great manner excluded myſelf.

The beſt motives, if the action be diſagreeable to our caprices or views, is no excuſe or extenuation to unreſtrained power. The involuntary offence is revenged, not only on the inimediate inſtrument, but on wives, children, and connexions. When, on a well known occaſion, the high prieſt Abimilech had, with the beſt and moſt humane intentions, relieved David, and thoſe who accompanied him, what was the treatment he met with? what his reward from Saul, once a private perſon, but raiſed to a throne by divine preference? The father of his people, the faithful ſhepherd of Iſrael, enjoins his maſſacre, with that of all his race, to the number, God defend us! of three hundred and eighty-five perſons. Nay, not ſatiated with this horrible ſlaughter, he extends it to the whole prieſthood, even the walls they inhabited, their city, wives, children. The reflection of the Jewiſh hiſtorian on this monſtrous enormity, are worthy of obſervarion, and highly illuſtrative of the ſubject of this eſſay. His words are, "This deteſtable action of Saul who, by the moſt horrible of impieties, feared not to ſhed the blood of the whole race of the prieſthood, without ſparing old men or children, and reducing at the ſame time to aſhes a city, which God himſelf had choſen to be the reſidence of his miniſters, and of his prophets, is a glaring inſtance to what lengths the corruption of the human heart may be tranſported.

While prevented by the moderation of their condition from doing all the evil to which they are inclined, they appear mild and humane, pretend a love of juſtice, nay, even to be compaſſionate, and perſuaded that God, who is every where preſent, obſerves all our actions and penetrates all our thoughts. But, as ſoon as raiſed to power and authority, they make it too evident, that theſe were never their real ſentiments, and, like actors who have changed their dreſſes, return on the ſtage to play another part; they become daring and inſolent, contemning God and man *." The reflection is equally juſt and pious; but I cannot help thinking with Plutarch, that this depravity of diſpoſition is not original and artfully concealed, but rather the iſſue and conſequence of unbounded power, which foments all our vices and paſſions, which often gives us thoſe we ſhould have never known, and which cannot be intruſted to any of human kind without ruin and miſery to himſelf and others. This inſtance reminds me of another of as extraordinary a nature, and related by the ſame judicious hiſtorian. It is of Herod, king of the Jews; a prince of great parts and addreſs, intrepid, enterpriſing, generous, magnificent; and who, during his continuance in a private ſtation, and before his elevation to a throne, betrayed no ſymptoms of inhumanity and cruelty; yet, after the change of his condition and poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, the ſervility of his courtiers, and the

* Joſephus, lib. vi. c. xiv.

baſe

baſe and criminal tameneſs of his ſubjects, encouraged him to the perpetration of the moſt diabolical exceſſes of malice, revenge, and barbarity. It is alſo worthy of notice in another light, being peculiarly illuſtrative of the inſenſibility, vanity, diſregard of real and ſottiſh deſire of apparent reſpect in princes and thoſe we indulgently call the Great. I paſs over his cruel murder of his benefactor Ariſtobulus, of his brother Hircanus, of his wife Mariamne, of his own ſons, and of how many more? and confine myſelf to the inſtance alluded to, the dying and concluding act of his exiſtence and abominable life. For, notwithſtanding all the blood he had ſhed during the courſe of a pretty long reign, when on his death-bed, conſcious what pleaſure his diſeaſe muſt afford the whole Jewiſh nation, and yet deſirous of teſtimonies of reſpect, however inſincere, and though ſuffering under the moſt excruciating torments both of mind and body, ſtill ſuch was his thirſt for blood, and for being obeyed, though in an indirect manner, that, calling his ſiſter Saleme and her huſband Alexis to his bed-ſide, after complaining of his ſufferings, he ſaid, it yet increaſed and aggravated them to think he ſhould be deprived of the funeral honours paid to majeſty by their ſubjects: but, although he was ſenſible the people abhorred him, yet, if a ſiſter and a brother would comply with his dying requeſt, the whole Jewiſh nation, in ſpite of themſelves, ſhould render him the moſt magnificent and moſt pleaſing and flattering funeral honours that ever prince received; for there ſhould

not be one of them who ſhould not ſhed the moſt ſincere tears. For this purpoſe, as ſoon as he ſhould be no more, they were to aſſemble the people, and to ſurround the hypodrome with his guards, and, without ſaying any thing of his death, command them, as if by his order, to ſhoot to death with arrows every perſon in that immenſe building. That executing this order and theſe intentions, he ſhould lie under a double obligation to them; firſt, for having complied with his requeſt; and, ſecondly, for having rendered the mourning upon account of his obſequies more famous than any that ever was before. The tortured and expiring prince added tears and intreaties, conjuring them by the ties of nature and gratitude, and by the affection they had for him, and by every thing that was ſacred and holy, not to ſuffer his memory to be deprived of theſe laſt honours *. Can there be an example more appoſite to our ſubject? When unbounded power can make us ſuch monſters; can teach vengeance, or rather the thirſt of blood, to triumph over pain and agony, and death itſelf; who would deſire it, who would ſuffer it to be uſurped, or continue to live under and endure its exceſſes?

The heart is ſometimes ſo hardened, and grows ſo callous by repeated acts of violence, inhumanity, and cruelty, that the ſhrieks and exclamations of thouſands dying and expiring in agony and torture make no impreſſion, nay, ſeem rather to afford matter for an inſolent ſort of exultation and

* Joſephus, lib. xvii. c. ix. lib. i. c. xxi.

diſdain.

diſdain. Witneſs the following deteſtable paſſage of the life of Sylla, recorded by Seneca. He is reaſoning before of the difference and diſtinction betweeen a king and a tyrant. His words are: "Tyrannus autem a rege diſtat factis non nomine. Nam et Dionyſius Major jure meritoque preferri multis regibus poteſt: & L. Sullam appellari tyrannum quid prohibet, cui occidendi finem fecit inopia hoſtium. Deſcenderet licet dictatura ſua & ſe togæ reddiderit: quis tamen unquam tyrannus tam avide humanum ſanguinem bibit, quam ille, qui ſeptem millia civium Romanorum contrucidari juſſit? Et cum in vicino, ad ædem Bellonæ ſedens, exaudiſſet conclamationem tot millium ſub gladio gementium, exterrito ſenatu: Hoc agamus, inquit, P. C. ſeditioſi pauculi mei juſſu occiduntur. Hoc non eſt mentitus: pauci, Sullæ videbantur *."

Luſt, cruelty, and ambition were the ruling features of M. Anthony's character. When the three legions from Macedonia rejected the offers of this triumvir, ſuſpecting the centurions or officers as the cauſe of their refuſal, he called them together into his lodgings, and then ordered them to be ſtabbed and murdered, to the number of three hundred; himſelf and his wife looking on and enjoying the horrid ſpectacle, and the blood even ſpirting in the face of the latter †.

But this unreſtrained, unapprehenſive power of injuring and oppreſſing, of gratifying and ſatiat-

* Seneca de Clementia, lib. i. c. xii.

† Philip. 3—2. & Philip. 5—8.

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ing avarice, ambition, and revenge, is as little to be truſted, and full as dangerous, in the hands of nations, communities, and bodies of men, as in thoſe of princes, of ſimple individuals, and even more ſo; for union, and ſtrength, and wiſdom, often raiſe the former much farther out of the reach of control and of puniſhment. Let us endeavour to ſhew this at ſome length.

We may then obſerve, that how mild and equitable ſoever a popular or mixed conſtitution may be at home, it is more harſh, ſevere, and oppreſſive, than even regal and abſolute government in its acquired provinces, whether near or remote [C]. A prince can have no motive or intereſt to treat one part of his dominions and ſubjects with more lenity or ſeverity than another. According to his diſpoſition and manners, they are all of them equally either the objects of his regard and good will, or of his ignorance, avarice, and cruelty. But the members of the various forms of republic are each of them the monarch, not one, but a legion of tyrants: They imbibe his views, vices, and paſſions; and, by oppreſſing their ſubjects, they at the ſame time gratify the luſt of dominion, and, by ſparing their own perſons and purſes, have more ample means of indulging themſelves in the conveniencies, ſuperfluities, and pleaſures of life *. Thus, when the allies of the Athenians,

* Such unjuſt proceedings frequently make the adviſers of them even popular. Thus Sir W. Raleigh obſerves, from good authority, of Hanno, "More particularly he was gracious

Athenians, who were properly their ſubjects, complained of the heavy contributions that were impoſed on them, and thought it but reaſonable that ſome account ſhould be given of the diſburſement, Pericles adviſed his fellow-citizens, or the democracy, to refuſe it, to oppreſſion adding inſult; alleging that, as they paid only money, and were protected and defended, and yet furniſhed neither man, nor veſſel, nor horſe, they had no right to demand ſuch an account. Yet, agreeably to the intention of this eſſay, which is to ſhew that unreſtrained power is equally fatal to thoſe who exerciſe and thoſe who ſuffer under it; theſe levies and taxes, which coſt the allies the want of the common conveniencies and neceſſaries of life, were laviſhly ſquandered away at Athens in diſtributions among the citizens, by which they were corrupted and rendered idle, licentious, and ungovernable; in games and feſtivals, and the amuſements of the theatre; in ruinous projects of empire and ambition; or, at beſt, in adorning and beautifying their city, by the aid of the painter, the architect, and the ſtatuary. It is equally matter of aſtoniſhment, compaſſion, and indignation to find to what a degree of exceſs and oppreſſion, from what feeble beginnings, theſe exactions were carried in the end. We are told by Thucydides, that from four hundred and ſixty talents, Pericles increaſed them near

cious among the people, for that he was one of the moſt grievous oppreſſors of their ſubject provinces, whereby he procured to the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithal ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſs."

a third;

a third; for in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war they amounted to ſix hundred, and after his death they were ſwelled to ſuch an exorbitancy by the Demagogues, that they amounted to the enormous ſum of one thouſand three hundred. Though perverted to ſuch unjuſt and wanton purpoſes, yet nothing could exceed their rigour and ſeverity in levying and exacting them. They puniſhed the ſmalleſt deficiency with heavy fines, and when theſe democratical tyrants preferred perſonal ſervice to money, they conſtrained to it even thoſe who were unaccuſtomed or averſe to it; forcing them from their eſtates and families, the towns and fields. Indeed, their hiſtorians and orators unanimouſly impute the loſs of the ſovereignty of Greece, and her colonies, firſt by the Lacedemonians, and then by the Athenians, after the former had maintained it during a period of ſeventy-three years, and the latter of twenty-nine, entirely to their oppreſſions, inhumanity, and cruelty. So great were the exceſſes of the Lacedemonians in theſe reſpects, and in the inſulting exerciſe of their power, that, among their confederates, the beſt and nobleſt houſes and families dared not refuſe even their virgin-daughters to the embraces and luſt of the Spartan generals and governors. Thus was Cleonice of Bizantium abandoned by her forlorn parents to the brutal deſires of Pauſanias, the conqueror of Platea. There is ſomething peculiarly affecting in the fate of this unhappy young perſon. When, in ſubmiſſion to the extorted command of her afflicted parents, ſhe was

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led in the night to his bed-chamber, happening to overturn a lamp, it awakened the wretch, who, being in continual alarms upon account of his treaſonable deſigns againſt his country, and imagining them diſcovered, leaped out of bed, flew to his ſword, and ſeizing it, ſtabbed the innocent victim to the heart *. Their inhuman treatment of their helots, or ſlaves, that defenceleſs but laborious and uſeful body of men, is too infamouſly notorious. However, I cannot help giving one inſtance out of many of their proceeding with regard to them. It is a complication of ingratitude, treachery, and inhumanity hardly to be equalled and related by the unqueſtionable authority of the moſt ſenſible of all hiſtorians. After having conducted, in a ſort of proceſſion, through their temples, three thouſand of theſe unhappy men, crowned with chaplets of flowers, expreſſive of the liberty they ſaid they intended them in reward and acknowledgment of their valour, fidelity, and ſervices in a criſis of the greateſt emergency, when their country was on the very brink of ruin, they are ſuppoſed to have actually led them to ſlaughter, as none of them were ever after ſeen or heard of †: Thus at once inſulting and mocking humanity, gratitude, and the gods.

Nothing reflects ſo much honour on the Roman government, as its maxims of moderation and humanity in the early ages of the republic [D]. Indeed, it is univerſally allowed, that theſe generous maxims and proceedings were the cauſe and

* Pauſanias, lib. iii. c. xvii. † Thucydides, lib. iv.

foundation of all the future greatneſs and glory of that illuſtrious people. Communities and nations incorporated or ſubmitted to their empire, as much from an admiration of their equity and humanity, as from dread of their diſcipline and valour. But after the increaſe of their power and of their wealth, after they looked all around them and ſaw nothing but ſlaves and ſubjects, after none dared to queſtion their authority, or mark the bounds and the limits, they ſoon began to deviate from their former wiſe, noble, and generous line of conduct, and to reſign themſelves to the influence and dominion of all thoſe odious and deſtructive paſſions, which are created, nouriſhed, and inflamed by unreſtrained power. The ſympathy and indignation of their beſt and moſt virtuous citizens are continually breaking out againſt the enormity of theſe abuſes and exceſſes. The writings of Cicero are crowded with them. How often do we meet with ſuch paſſages as the following? "Lugent omnes provinciæ: queruntur omnes liberi populi: regna denique jam omnia de noſtris cupiditatibus & injuriis expoſtulant: locus intra oceanum jam nullus eſt, neque tam longinquus neque tam reconditus, quo non, per hæc tempora, noſtrorum hominum libido, iniquitaſque pervaſerit. Suſtinere jam populus Romanus omnium nationum non vim, non arma, non bellum, ſed luctum, lacrymas, querimonias non poteſt *." And in his oration pro lege Manilia, "Difficile eſt dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio ſumus apud exte-

* In Verrem, lib. iii. c. lxxxix.

ras

ras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio miſimus, injurias ac libidines. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris noſtris magiſtratibus religioſum, quam civitatem ſanctam, quam domum ſatis clauſam ac munitam fuiſſe? Urbes jam locuples ac copioſæ requiruntur, quibus cauſa belli propter deripiendi cupiditatem inferatur.—Quæ civitas eſt in Aſia, quæ non modo imperatores, aut legati, ſed unius tribuni militum animos ac ſpiritus capere poſſit?"

But not only the remote and diſtant provinces were abandoned to the avarice, luſt, and cruelty of proconſuls, legates, &c. the very allies, and Italy herſelf, were ſubjected to the ſame exceſſes and abuſe of unreſtrained power. " Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum ſit, noſtri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera quæ per hoſce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum noſtri imperatores fecerunt, recordamini. Tum facilius ſtatuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri exiſtimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hoſce annos militum veſtrorum armis, hoſtium urbes, an hibernis ſociorum civitates eſſe deletas?"

We meet with many and almoſt incredible inſtances of theſe exceſſes and enormities in other paſſages of the ſame great perſon's orations againſt Verres, as well as in that mentioned above. But they are alſo to be found in a much earlier period of the Roman hiſtory, and before luxury and corruption could have arrived at ſo great a pitch as in Cicero's time. Livy relates ſeveral with his

uſual pathetic and nervous eloquence. In his 29th book, he deſcribes ten commiſſioners coming from Locris in the habit of ſuppliants, with olive branches in their hands, with plaintive voice, and on their bended knees, intreating and imploring the protection of the conſuls and ſenate againſt the exceſſes and violences of their governor Pleminius and the Roman ſoldiery. They allege and proteſt, ſuch have been their ſufferings under them, as the Romans would not wiſh even to the Carthaginians; that to Pleminius there is nothing human pertaining but his figure and outward form, nor any thing of a Roman citizen, but his habit and dreſs, and the ſound of the Latin tongue. That were he ſatisfied with making them feel the weight of only his own luſt, avarice, and other paſſions, their patience might be equal to it; but that his example and encouragement had rendered all the centurions, and even the common ſoldiers, ſo many Pleminiuſes. That they all of them plunder, ravage, ſcourge, wound, murder, violate matrons, virgins, youths, dragging them from the arms of their parents. That every day their city is taken, every day it is plundered; that day and night the ſhrieks and ſcreams of forced women and boys reſound and echo through the ſtreets; that it were endleſs to enter into particulars; that no family, no individual, has eſcaped their outrages; that there is no poſſible kind of wickedneſs, of luſt, of avarice, that could be endured, that has been omitted: nay, that the ſufferings and calamities of cities taken by ſtorm by incenſed enemies,

enemies, of cities oppreſſed by the moſt cruel and implacable tyrants, have been poured by Pleminius on them, their wives, and their children; the very ſhrines and temples of their gods have been profaned and expoſed to ſacrilege.

To ſuch a wantonneſs of luſt and cruelty were the Roman governors tranſported by their great authority and confidence of impunity, that in order, in ſome degree, to check and reſtrain this torrent of licentiouſneſs and tyranny, the elder Cato found it neceſſary, during his cenſorſhip, to accuſe Lucius Quintius of the following almoſt incredible enormity. He ſaid that, by the hopes of great advantages, he had perſuaded to accompany him to his province of Gaul, one Philip, a Carthaginian, a dear and beloved pathic: that during his wanton teaſing of the boy, the latter uſed often to upbraid the conſul, with having been prevailed upon to leave Rome juſt before a gladiatorial ſhew, and ſolely to gratify his wiſhes. It happened that one day, as they were ſitting at table, and beginning to be heated with their wine, an account was brought, that a principal Boian with his family were come over to the Romans: The conſul deſired to ſee him, in order to enſure him of his protection. When he was introduced, the conſul ſpoke to him by an interpreter. During the conference, Quintius whiſpered his minion, as you left a gladiatorian ſhew, would you like to ſee this Gaul expire? And when he ſignified his aſſent, ſcarcely ſeriouſly, the conſul, at the nod of a pathic, drawing a ſword that hung over him as

he ſat, firſt ſtruck the Gaul with it on the head as he was ſpeaking, and then as he fled out of the room, imploring the faith of the Roman people and of all who were preſent, ſtabbed him to the heart *.

Another inſtance of a like nature is related by the ſame hiſtorian, and of the ſame unworthy perſon. The execution of criminals is a neceſſary but melancholy act of juſtice, and generally owing to bad and negligent government, intended to reclaim the guilty, to deter and terrify the wavering, to confirm and encourage the virtuous and well-diſpoſed: but in the inſtance alluded to, it is perverted to the gratification of a ſhameleſs and cruel lubricity. This unworthy conſul was deſperately enamoured of a celebrated courtezan of Placentia. Having invited her to a banquet, and among other things boaſting (for what is there that man will not make a ſubject of vanity) of the intenſeneſs of the kind of torture he uſed, and how many convicts he had in chains, that were doomed to execution by the ax; as ſhe ſat by him, ſhe ſaid ſhe had never ſeen a man beheaded, and had a great deſire to ſee ſuch a ſight. Upon which the complaiſant lover orders one of theſe poor wretches to be dragged out, and his head to be immediately ſtruck off. A horrible action, adds Livy, amidſt the feſtivity of the table and the libations to the gods, and health of our friends, to gratify a wanton harlot, reclining on the breaſt of

* Livy, lib. xxxix. c. xlii.

a con-

a conſul; and thus to offer an human victim, and to ſtain and deform the banquet with his blood *.

I ſhall give but two other inſtances of this ſcandalous and inhuman abuſe of power. They are curious and intereſting, being related and complained of by that virtuous and illuſtrious citizen Caius Gracchus, and preſerved to us by Aulus Gellius.

When the conſul came lately to Teanus Siduinus, his wife expreſſed a deſire to uſe the men's bath. The quæſtor, or mayor of the town, had it therefore given him in charge, that all who were bathing there ſhould be immediately driven out. The lady complains to her lord, that the bath was not given up to her ſoon enough, and likewiſe very far from clean. Upon this, a pole is erected in the forum, and inſtantly hurried to it M. Marcus, the principal perſon of the province; his cloaths are ſtripped from his back, and he is beaten with rods: When the Caleni heard of this, they made an order prohibiting any one to uſe the baths while a Roman magiſtrate was in the town. When, for the ſame reaſon, our prætor ordered the quæſtors of Terentinum to be apprehended, one of them threw himſelf from the walls, the other was taken and beaten with rods. This is ſufficiently ſhocking; the other is ſtill more ſo. That friend to juſtice and humanity proceeds: To give you ſome idea of the arrogance and cruel

* Livy, lib. xxxiv. c. xliii.

See alſo the complaints of the commiſſioners from Spain of the pride and avarice of the Roman governors. Livy, lib. xliii. c. ii.

tyranny of our young men, I will allege but one inſtance. A few years ago, a young man was ſent as a legate from Aſia. He travelled in a ſedan, or litter. An herdſman belonging to Venuſinum happening to meet him, and being ignorant who was carried in the litter, aſked, with a laughing ſneer, whether they were carrying a corpſe. As ſoon as the young gentleman heard him, he orders the ſedan to be ſet down, and the poor man to be beaten to ſuch a degree with the ſtraps or belts of the chairmen, that he expired under the blows *.

With regard to communities, aſſociates, or a certain number of perſons intruſted with power, it is obſervable, as was noticed briefly before, that their abuſe of it is equally atrocious and enormous. The ſpirit of violence, inhumanity, and cruelty, ſeems to ſpread and ferment among them like a contagion, a plague, or a burning fever, and in the end to tranſport them to the moſt horrid and brutal exceſſes. Good God! what is it that infatuates mankind to ſuch a degree, as to make them forget their humanity, their being of the ſame ſpecies, and degrade themſelves, by their diabolical treatment of one another, below the level of beaſts of prey and of carnage! Are theſe the views with which they deſire power and authority? Or is it unworthy and below the wiſh of any good and humane man, unleſs for the exerciſe it affords our beſt talents, for the purpoſes of benevolence, and

* Aulus Gellius, lib. x. c. iii.

for

for the opportunity it affords of promoting the enjoyment and happineſs of numbers. Yet, who can read the narrative of the uſurpation, the exceſſes and enormities of the thirty at Athens, or of the decemvirs at Rome, without amazement, pity, indignation, and even contempt and abhorrence of our ſpecies?

The ſubverſion of the popular government of Athens, and the ruin of that ſtate, were owing to the corruption of thoſe who aſpired to the conduct of affairs, and to the arbitrary policy of Sparta. For Thucydides obſerves very juſtly *, that the misfortunes of that commonwealth did not ſo much proceed from their defeats at Amphipolis and Mantinea, the defection of their allies, or their great overthrow in Sicily, as to their own internal diſſentions, and the ambition of their demagogues, who ſeduced the people into the moſt fatal meaſures, in order to raiſe themſelves to the management of the public buſineſs; and as a proof of their reſources and internal vigour, he ſays they were ſtill able to ſubſiſt, and afterward recover in a great meaſure their ancient reputation; notwithſtanding the change of their government by Lyſander, the union of Sicily with their enemies, and the King of Perſia's defraying the fleet of their conquerors. As to the eſtabliſhment of the thirty, it was agreeable to the narrow policy of Lacedemon (and as Machiavel obſerves, the cauſe of their confined empire), always

* Lib. ii.

to deſtroy the ancient conſtitution, and eſtabliſh their own form of government in the counties and cities they ſubdued; that is, an ariſtocratical or oligarchical form, if they did not find it there. The adminiſtration of theſe men had at firſt the appearance of even juſtice and humanity, for the beginning of their acts, was to put to death all ſuch as during the popular ſtate had procured a livelihood by calumnies and falſe accuſations. However, it was a bad and pernicious precedent, for as it was without trial, they afterwards proceeded in the ſame illegal manner, againſt all thoſe they ſuſpected of diſapproving their views and conduct, though the beſt and moſt virtuous citizens. Thus under the ſanction of this example, they put to death Leon of Salamis, a perſon of eminent virtue and merit, and againſt whom they had nothing to allege; and Niceratus the ſon of Nucas, no favourer of the people, no more than his father, and Antiphon, who during the war had furniſhed two veſſels at his own expence. All theſe illuſtrious perſons were murdered by theſe unworthy magiſtrates, upon account of their virtue and of their riches. They ſacrifice many others to the gratification of private malice, and the convenient ſituation of their eſtates and property. Though men be ever ſo abandoned, they generally pay ſome regard to appearances, and even during the perpetration of the worſt crimes, pretend reaſons of ſtate and neceſſity; yet the language of theſe villains was as barefaced as their crimes and actions; ſo utterly were they loſt

to

to all feeling and goodneſs, that in order to pay their guard, the inſtrument of their crimes, each of them propoſes to murder a ſtranger-citizen, and ſeize his effects without regard to his heirs, his wife and children. One of the moſt intereſting and affecting ſcenes of the Grecian hiſtory, is the account given us by Xenophon of their conduct reſpecting Theramenes *, a perſon of the greateſt integrity, honour, humanity, valour, and patriotiſm that we read of in ſtory. Though himſelf one of their number, neither the opportunity of partaking in the advantages and emoluments of the abuſe of their power, nor the ſevereſt threats of vengeance, could ſeduce and corrupt this illuſtrious character, to concur in the views of his colleagues, nay, not to oppoſe them. To be thus betrayed by themſelves as it were, exaſperated them all to the higheſt degree, but more eſpecially Critias, the chief adviſer and promoter of their violent and odious meaſures. In order, therefore, to remove this formidable obſtacle to their exceſſes and cruelties, after a violent invective againſt Theramenes, he ſaid, the Thirty could indeed proceed againſt none of the three thouſand, (ſuppoſed to partake in the adminiſtration) without the concurrence of the ſenate; but as to all the reſt of the citizens, the law had left them at the abſolute diſpoſal of himſelf, and of his col-

* Lyſias gives a different account of this excellent perſon, but it is in a pleading, to ſerve a particular purpoſe, and his authority is by no means equal to Xenophon's. *Contra Eratoſthenem*, and in that *contra Agoratum*.

leagues in power: he added, he therefore ſtruck Theramenes's name out of the liſt of the three thouſand, and ordered him to be led to death and execution; and in order effectually to prevent the interpoſition of the ſenate, he commanded his guard to appear on the flight of ſteps that led to the houſe. All preſent were filled with grief and indignation, and though the injured Theramenes very juſtly obſerved, that if ſuch a violation of the conſtitution were allowed, nobody could be ſafe, for any one of the three thouſand, however innocent or illuſtrious, might, by ſuch an evaſion, be unjuſtly and tyrannically treated; yet neither the grief and indignation of all but the tyrants, nor his own innocence and merit, nor the ſanctuary of the altar, could protect him againſt the malice and cruelty of the implacable enemies of all honour and virtue. With regard to thoſe who were not of the three thouſand, they were forbid to enter the city, and the moſt opulent of them were dragged from their houſes and eſtates, in order that their adherents might divide among them their ſpoils. In fine, to conclude this ſhocking and alarming recital (for as was obſerved above, many of them before raiſed to power were eminent for moderation and virtue), theſe villains and traitors to their country, in the ſhort ſpace of eight months, deſtroyed and butchered a greater number of their fellow-citizens *, of Athenians, than

* Æſchines againſt Cteſiphon, ſays, the thirty tyrants put to death fifteen hundred citizens even without a trial: and in another

than had fallen in battle under the united arms of all the nations of Peloponneſus, during eight years of a violent and bloody war*.

As to their counter-parts, the decemvirs of Rome, they were intruſted with power in a conſtitutional way by their fellow-citizens, in order to collect for their approbation a body of laws, to be a fixed and known rule of proceeding and government to their future magiſtrates, inſtead of the uncertain, confined, and imperfect ſuggeſtions and opinions of diſcretionary judges. The conduct of theſe men affords as appoſite and ample proof as has yet been given of the nature and influence of power on the human mind. Nothing could be more modeſt, mild, and equitable, than the beginning of their adminiſtration. They induſtriouſly avoided every oſtentatious mark of their power. The officiating conſul, for they took it alternately, was preceded in public by the rods, and the other enſigns of the conſular dignity. His aſſociates differed little in their appearance from the other citizens. They attended diligently to the cognizance and determination of all kinds of cauſes and ſuits. They even cheerfully admitted of appeals from one another, and had the moderation both to give and to ſubmit to a reverſe of judgment. Such was their care and kind ſolicitude for the eaſe and intereſts of the

another paſſage, without informing them of their crimes, without permitting their parents and relations to attend their obſequies, or pay them the decent rites of ſepulture.

* Xenophon, Lib. ii. and Lyſias contra Eratoſthenem.

plebeians,

plebeians, or common or inferior people, particularly Appius's, oppoſing and diſcouraging every kind of violence, or unequal treatment, that was offered them, that it was ſaid publicly in converſation, in the forum, and in other places of public reſort, that the commonwealth no longer ſtood in need of tribunes or any of the other magiſtrates (for all theſe had been ſuppreſſed upon the creation of the Decemvirs). But, alas! this noble and generous diſcharge of their duty was of ſhort duration. For when the people (who never deſire any thing but ſecurity and equity) grateful for their virtuous adminiſtration, agreed to continue them in office another year, they began to entertain hopes to render their power perpetual, and ſoon gave too evident marks of their iniquitous intentions. Their preſent was directly the reverſe of their former conduct. What they had obtained by moderation and equity, they endeavoured to perpetuate by violence and terror. Inſtead of one conſul with the enſigns of his office, all the twelve appeared in the forum, crowded with their one hundred and twenty lictors, bearing before them in their hands, not only the rods, but armed alſo with the axes bound up with them, and the uſe of which had been diſcontinued out of reverence to the people, ever ſince the time of Publius Valerius. Their whole proceedings were conformable to this beginning. Both equity, and the appearances of it, were no longer regarded. No more appeals, or if they were hazarded, the imprudent ſufferers had the aggra-

aggravated mortification of repenting of not having been ſatisfied with the firſt determination. Nay, when Appius, by his artifices, was choſen a ſecond time, and by his inſinuations and calumnies, ſuch as he thought he could depend on, (for many of the principal ſenators, in order to exclude the unworthy, had condeſcended to ſolicit), the firſt thing they did was to enter into an agreement, confirmed by their oaths (ſo great is the inconſiſtencies of mankind, to call the gods to witneſs an act of impiety and injuſtice), not to oppoſe one another in any thing, and that whatever ſhould be propoſed by any one of them, the others ſhould ſupport it; that they ſhould hold their magiſtracy during their lives, and admit no other perſon into the adminiſtration; that both ſenate and people ſhould be reſorted to as little as poſſible, and all affairs of any moment or conſequence tranſacted by their own ſole authority. In order to effectuate theſe views, they endeavour to gain partizans and adherents by the hopes of licence and of rapine. And it is a matter of aſtoniſhment, as Dionyſius * very well obſerves, and as was noticed above, that they found them not only among the luxurious and diſſipated youth, and thoſe of deſperate fortunes; but alſo among the principal ſenators themſelves, whoſe birth and education ought to have taught them to entertain ſentiments of ſome elevation; but of this, Livy gives the true reaſon, when he ſays †, "Licentiam ſuam malle quam omnium libertatem." They

* Lib. xi. † Lib. iii.

preferred a licence to gratify all their worſt deſires, to the enjoyment and liberty of the whole people. Encouraged and inſtigated by this ſupport, and the hopes of impunity, the decemvirs pretend to be not only legiſlators, but judges and interpreters of all laws. The tribunals are filled with their creatures. They put many of the citizens to death, and deprive many others of their fortunes, contrary to all the principles of law and of juſtice. They even dare to connect their ſecond magiſtracy with their former one, in contempt and defiance both of the ſenate and of the people. To give ſtability and terror to their power, and force oppoſition into compliance by falſe accuſation, they baniſh or put to death all the worthieſt and moſt virtuous perſons, who appeared to be diſſatisfied with their proceedings. Their effects and eſtates were the reward and incentive of their adherents. Indeed, they countenanced and authoriſed theſe abandoned wretches to plunder and pillage the fortunes of all who oppoſed their adminiſtration. Nay, they permitted them, as if the city of Rome had been taken by force of arms, not only to ſtrip the legal poſſeſſors of their effects and properties, but even to raviſh their wives when inflamed by their beauty, to abuſe ſuch of their daughters as were marriageable, and when their affected and indignant parents, brothers, or other near relations, reſented their brutality, they beat and inſulted them as the baſeſt and vileſt of ſlaves. Thus, as we have all along endeavoured to prove, their crimes and enormi-

ties

ties increaſed with the continuance of their power, and the hopes of impunity, till at laſt they reached their full meaſure, in the ſcandalous aſſaſſination of the brave Siccius, the intended rape and violation of Virginia, the blood of the innocent daughter, through cruel neceſſity, ſhed by the hand of the parent, and which in the iſſue was the immediate cauſe of the ſubverſion of the tyranny. For, it is alſo equally true, that ruin and miſery is the general concluſion of the abuſe of power; and that nations always at laſt avenge their own cauſe, and that of human nature, and diſcover, but often when it is too late, that they have intruſted to one or ſeveral, a degree of power incompatible with feeling, ſentiment, or principle, and that after all their ſufferings and oppreſſions, under the utmoſt abuſe and perverſion of it, their only conſolation is the death of the tyrant, be he one or many, ſunk below the level of the moſt infamous of criminals and wretches, by his impurities, enormities, and crimes. So that in all theſe caſes, nations have only themſelves to blame, being in reality the cauſe of their own calamities, by intruſting unlimited power, or by allowing it to be uſurped by one or a few, rather than dividing it among themſelves in juſt and moderate proportion. Conſidering the ignorance, wants of diſcernment, vices, and other neceſſary defects of princes, ſuch conduct in the one caſe is folly and weakneſs; in the other, conſidering the wiſdom, the integrity, the humanity of mixed and reſtrained forms of government,

where

where men are advanced, and ſucceed according to the degree of their talents and merit, to limited power, both as to duration and extent, it is certainly the higheſt degree of weakneſs, puſillanimity, and want of becoming dignity of mind, and of ſentiment.

2.

AS human nature is the ſame in all ages, and as in ſimilar circumſtances mankind are under the influence of like paſſions and deſires, it may be expected that after this deduction of facts, illuſtrative of the ſubject of this Eſſay from ancient ſtory, I ſhould alſo inforce it by a like ſeries collected from more modern annals. The expectation is natural, and though modern hiſtorians are more ſolicitous to direct the attention of the reader to genealogies, and treaties and battles, and the other glaring facts of hiſtory, than to circumſtances and events, illuſtrative of the mind, manners and characters of princes and magiſtrates entruſted with power and authority; and though my mind has often experienced both humility and indignation, during a recital ſo diſhonourable to our ſpecies, yet the ſincerity and uprightneſs of my intention muſt be my apology, for taking a ſhort and rapid view of modern ſtory in reference to my ſubject. For my ſincere, and only view, in drawing up this treatiſe, is to prove by facts and experience, not by ſophiſtry and deluſion, that virtues and unreſtrained power are incom-

incompatible; that though conſtantly deſired, yet it is as conſtantly abuſed; that its progreſs, and that of the vices, the exceſſes, the madneſs and rage of its poſſeſſor, and the debaſement, the ſufferings, the miſeries, of thoſe who feel the effects of it, are always in the ſame meaſure and proportion. And would to God, that wherever theſe papers are read, they may contribute to excite principles of moderation and humanity; make princes and magiſtrates, inſtead of dreading the moſt wholeſome reſtraints on their authority, rather wiſh to ſee it circumſcribed, by the neceſſary checks and limitations of law and juſtice; and rouſe the attention of ſtates and communities, diligently to watch and guard againſt the encroachments of their deluded ſovereigns, or to recover thoſe unalienable rights and claims, which neither precedent nor time can ever annihilate or impair. For ſo great is their importance, ſo much does ſecurity, enjoyment, and even virtue, depend on their preſervation, that to aſſert them even through all the horrors and calamities of a civil war, would not be maintaining or acquiring them at too high a price. Such ſcenes are, indeed, alarming, and ſo are ſtorms and tempeſts which yet contribute to correct and purify the elements, and are ſucceeded by health, ſerenity, and the ſun's benign and unclouded luſtre. In the ſame manner, revolutions in government, though they appear formidable at a diſtance, and during their ferment and operation, yet when they have ſpent themſelves and begin to ſubſide, are ſucceeded by union,

union, concord, harmony and peace. Beſides, to make uſe of another alluſion, though perpetual health be preferable to either a fever or a conſumption, yet as few eſcape thoſe diſeaſes or others that reſemble them, there is no one that would not prefer the temporary fury of the one, to the perpetual languor and debility of the other: for the one is an emblem of the ſtruggles and convulſions that muſt be undergone in the recovery of liberty and a conſtitution; the other of the eternal oppreſſion, ſickneſs, weakneſs, and miſery, to which nations and communities are doomed under unreſtrained regal and tyrannical power. But to return from this digreſſion.

After the ſubverſion of the Roman empire, the fall of that of the Goths, and of the Lombards, the decline of that of Charlemagne, and of the Othos, the deſolating factions of the Guelphs and Ghibilines; and after many paroxiſms of deſolation and anarchy, during a revolution of ſo many ages, the beautiful, but faded and exhauſted country of Italy began in ſome degree to ſubſide into order and tranquillity, and to form itſelf into various independent communities and ſtates. The rival pretenſions and internal convulſions of theſe ſtates and communities owing to various cauſes, the factions of citizens, their intereſt in affairs; the contagion of paſſions, always ardent and impetuous in ſmall and popular communities, produced infinite changes and viciſſitudes. The animoſities of party, the arts of popularity, often exalted a ſimple citizen into an

abſolute prince. Frequent and mutual injuries inflamed all the paſſions into a degree of fever and rage. Power, whether popular or regal, could be maintained only by violence and blood. Hence all the feelings of nature, pity, remorſe, good-will, were blunted and in a manner eradicated out of the human breaſt. Princes purſued not only power, but amuſement, through violence, blood and the wantonneſs of cruelty. Among ſeveral other ſtates, Milan ſupplies us with too many examples of this obſervation. That fine country, like her neighbours, had experienced a variety of revolutions: ſometimes a popular, ſometimes a tyrannic influence prevailed. Several tyrants paſſed in ſucceſſion to expulſion or to death. At laſt the houſe of Viſconte had rendered their power there hereditary. There were four brothers of them, who reigned over different diſtricts. As uſually happens, the eſtabliſhment of their power and influence ſeduced them to the perverſion and abuſe of them. Bernardo Viſconte, aſſociated prince of that duchy with his other brothers about the year 1374, and ſole ſovereign of ſeveral other ſtates and principalities of Italy, was ſo far loſt to all ſenſe of juſtice, or common humanity, that he puniſhed by death, and confiſcation of effects, whoever of his ſubjects ſhould kill a boar, or other wild and ſavage animal; nay, thoſe who had treſpaſſed in this way, or even taſted the fleſh of ſuch animals, within four years before the publication of this barbarous law, were ſubjected to the ſame penalty. In order to in-

dulge himſelf in the pleaſures of the chace, he had collected upwards of five thouſand dogs, which he obliged the farmers and huſbandmen to maintain at their own charge and expence. Every month they were to bring them to undergo a ſort of review or examination. If found lean and poor, or unluckily dead, their keepers were puniſhed with confiſcation of effects, or other grievous penalty. The huntſmen of this unworthy prince were more dreaded than the magiſtrates of juſtice. With regard to his adminiſtration in the more important affairs of his government, though his ſubjects were abſolutely exhauſted and ruined by war, peſtilence and famine, all occaſioned by his tyranny and ambition, yet without the leaſt regard to their ſufferings and neceſſities, he ſtill continued to oppreſs and drain them by heavy taxes and impoſitions, in order to raiſe money to carry on new and endleſs wars *. When two friars, out of a ſenſe of duty, and humanity, and charity, ventured to mention to him the fatal conſequences of ſuch meaſures, exaſperated inſtead of ſoftened by their intreaties and prayers, he ordered them to be immediately burnt alive. The ſame hiſtorian (on the authority of Corio) repreſents Giovanni Maria Viſconti †, another prince of the ſame houſe, and who lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as tranſplanted into ſuch a demon of cruelty, by his unreſtrained

* Muratori Annali d' Italia, vol. xii. p. 257. Edit. Milan.

† Muratori, anno 1412. vol. xiii. p. 12.

power,

power, and the baſe ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects, that he had dogs of chace trained to tear in pieces all whom he diſliked, or who had incurred his diſpleaſure; nay, that often for his amuſement, he let them looſe, and hounded them on ſuch as had nowiſe offended him. The accurate * Corio gives ſeveral inſtances that make our blood run cold with horror.

Theſe unworthy princes profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, but they profeſſed it as taught and corrupted by the court of Rome. Notwithſtanding their abominable lives, they founded monaſteries, and attended the moſt ſolemn offices of devotion; but Chriſtianity had little influence on the manners of men, to excite them to the practice of juſtice, humanity, and temperance, till the revival of its true ſpirit and principles by the authors of the Reformation.

But not to tire and ſhock the reader with innumerable inſtances that might be alleged, and ſtill confining myſelf principally to princes of mixed and, in ſome reſpects, even amiable characters; even the ſo much boaſted Leo X, the polite, the magnificent, the friend and patron of letters, and of learned men, and whom ſo great a part of Europe, think proper to call the ſucceſſor and viſible repreſentative of our Saviour and his apoſtles, infallible, above all oaths and engagements, even a prince of ſuch a deſcription, could ſacrifice to his reſentment and paſſions the lives of reverend

* Corio, p. 303. Part. quart.

cardinals, from whom he had received long and eſſential ſervices.

This pontiff owed in a great meaſure to the Cardinal de Siena, and his father Pandolfo Petrucci, both his own reſtoration, and that of his brothers to their influence and authority in Florence. He was alſo greatly indebted to the intereſt of the ſame cardinal in the conclave, for his elevation to the pontificate; yet, inſtead of a ſuitable return, and ſuch as a virtuous and grateful mind would have been impatient to make, for ſo ſignal proofs of attachment, affection, and eſteem, he perſecuted both himſelf and his houſe, as if they had been always his greateſt and moſt inveterate enemies, driving both him and his brother from their city of Sienna. The cardinal being thus deprived of his patrimonial fortunes, was unable to ſupport the dignity of his rank and quality, and naturally exaſperated at ſuch complicated ingratitude, in a perſon from whom he had a right to expect a very oppoſite behaviour; diſtreſs and deſpair inflame him with hopes of ſatisfaction, and of vengeance. He enters into deſigns againſt the life of the Pope. They are diſcovered. His Holineſs is alarmed, and at laſt prevails upon him to come to Rome, truſting in the Pope's promiſes, proteſtations, and a ſafe conduct given, and confirmed by word of mouth to the ambaſſadors of the King of Spain; but no ſooner was the deluded cardinal in his power, than promiſes, proteſtations, and ſafe conduct were forgotten; the expoſtulations and remon-

ſtrances of the ambaſſadors, alleging the reſpect due to their maſter, to whom the aſſurances were properly given, are diſregarded; he is thrown into priſon, and then ſtrangled *, his holineſs aſſuming that, where the life of a pope is concerned, and poiſon intended, no ſafe-conduct, how particular and explicit ſoever, is of any moment or avail. With the ſame baſe deceit, perfidiouſneſs, and ingratitude, he inveigles ſome time after into his caſtle of St. Angelo, Giampaolo Baglione, whom, after ſubjecting during two whole months to all the inconveniencies and horrors of a priſon, he at length relieves by ordering him to be beheaded †. Such are the crimes, to which are encouraged, even in many reſpects, deſerving characters, when ſuffered to violate juſtice and equity without fear of the conſequences.

We meet with ſimilar exceſſes in all countries where caprice and paſſion, not law and juſtice, are the meaſures of command and obedience. Our neighbours of France are ſo inſenſible to the natural and unalienable rights of every people and nation, and to the memory of their former legal and limited government, that even their principal nobility, and princes of the blood, have the baſeneſs and meanſpiritedneſs to ſuffer themſelves to be carried and thrown into priſon, in conſequence of an order from a miniſter, often a foreigner or unworthy upſtart, and their inferior in every right and pretenſion to confidence,

* Guicciardini, lib. xiii. p. 144. † Ibid. lib. xiii. p. 170.

power, and the adminiſtration of affairs. Yet theſe great perſons, ſo vain of their titles, the names of their houſes, the emblems of their honours, and accuſtomed from their infancy to every refinement and delicacy of accommodation, can tamely ſubmit to be buried months and years in loathſome or uncomfortable priſons, to the infinite detriment of their healths and fortunes, and to be excluded from all intercourſe with their families, friends, and from every opportunity and means of exculpation and defence. Perhaps, indeed, when the malice of the miniſter, minion, or court, is in ſome degree ſatiated with their lonely ſuffering and miſeries, they at laſt obtain the favour of being ſentenced by commiſſioners, to be broken on the wheel. This free career to malice and vengeance, in which one knows not whether the ſervility and tameneſs of the ſuffering nation, or the inſolence and brutality of their tyrants, is moſt culpable, has encouraged and inſtigated the ſovereigns and miniſters of that ingenious and warlike nation, to the perpetration of the moſt horrid and ſhocking inſtances of cruelty and barbarity. It may be worth our pains to deſcend to a few inſtances. Lewis X. (who reigned in the beginning of the fourteenth century), agreeably to the uſual noble and generous policy of abſolute princes, oppreſſed the French nation under the pretence of neceſſary wars, expoſed to ſale all offices of judicature, exhauſted and pillaged his defenceleſs clergy, forced the ſlaves or villains, how contrary ſoever to their inclination, to purchaſe

chaſe what was called their liberty, by the ſale of their moveables, their very beds, table and chairs (for this was a ſpecies of property they were capable of acquiring). Among various other proofs of his arbitrary and cruel diſpoſition, his proceedings with regard to Raoul de Preſle, the moſt eminent advocate of his times, particularly excite both our compaſſion and indignation. The motive for ſo ſcandalous a violation of juſtice and humanity, was to prevent this diſtinguiſhed lawyer from aſſiſting with his talents and eloquence, his friend, the well known Enguerrand de Marigny, whom the king's uncle, Charles of Valois, and the court were reſolved to deſtroy. Before we give an account of the iſſue of this bloody affair, it may be neceſſary to ſay a few words of this remarkable perſon and unfortunate miniſter. He was deſcended of an ancient family in Normandy. His fine perſon, his wit and addreſs recommended him to the favour of Philip the Fair. The more he was employed, the greater proofs he gave of his penetration and capacity for affairs. Hence he was diſtinguiſhed with offices and honours, conſidered as the king's principal miniſter, and the ſource of all the public meaſures. His perſecution alluded to in the ſucceeding reign, was owing to malice and avarice. He had offended Charles de Valois the king's uncle, by eſpouſing the intereſts of a perſon he diſliked, in a ſuit at law (about ſo trifling a matter as a mill), in preference to one he affected. Money was alſo wanting to defray the expence of the

coronation. Marigny was not popular, and was reckoned immenſely rich. Affection, and a perſuaſion of his innocence, induced the celebrated Raoul de Prêles to undertake his defence. Fearful of his eſcape, and in order to deprive him of the ſupport of ſo able an advocate, the court adds a greater crime to their intended one. They have the audacity to accuſe the great orator himſelf of being concerned in the death of the late king; he is apprehended and hurried to priſon, and ſuch was the diabolical impetuoſity of the unworthy prince and his miniſter, that by the moſt monſtrous of all proceedings, without waiting till ſentence was formally pronounced againſt him, they begin by confiſcating all his fortunes, which were not even reſtored to him after his innocence was acknowledged, and he was ſet at his liberty. Louis had beſtowed them on one of his favourites Pierre Machaut, who even after the acquittal of Raoul, had ſuch an influence over his maſter, as to oblige and force the much injured perſon himſelf *, and even his wife and children, to make an abſolute conveyance of them, confirmed by an oath, never hereafter to reclaim them. As ſometimes is the caſe with princes, on his death-bed, Louis alarmed by the ſtings and upbraidings of conſcience, lamented the injuſtice of his proceedings, and ordered reſtitution to be made. As to Marigny he was condemned to the ignominy of the gallows.

* Boulainvilliers, vol. iii. p. 369. and Villaret, tom. viii. p. 16.

The

The arbitrary nature of King John of France, the tumults and calamities of his reign, the battle of Poictiers, his long captivity, and the gallant generoſity of the Prince of Wales, are known to all the world. This prince ſuſpected ſeveral of the nobleſſe of being concerned with the King of Navarre, in the aſſaſſination of his favourite Charles of Spain. At his ſuggeſtion, his ſon, the Dauphin, invites them to a banquet in his domains. They had juſt ſat down to table, when the king, who had ſet out the night before, and been received into the caſtle by a private poſtern, enters the hall with a hundred men in complete armour. All preſent immediately riſe from their ſeats and offer him the cup of feſtivity, but the king, darting a terrible look at them, cries with a ſtern voice, Let no one ſtir under pain of death. There is nothing but confuſion and uproar. Some effect their eſcape over the walls, but the King of Navarre, and moſt of the nobility accompanying him (for that prince alſo was of the party), are inſtantly loaded with chains, and hurried to different chambers of the caſtle. After a proceeding ſo indecent and unbecoming of majeſty, the king could ſit down to table. As ſoon as he had dined, he orders into two carts or waggons, the Comte de Harcourt, the Seigneurs de Graville and Olivier Doublet. Then accompanied by the Dauphin his ſon, and his band of armed men, he mounts on horſeback, himſelf conducting the priſoners. Villani relates, that as theſe unfortunate perſons were paſſing through the market-

place

place of Rouen, the inhabitants aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected a ſpectacle, would certainly have reſcued them; but the king taking off his helmet, made himſelf known, and no one had the courage to move. At the ſame time, he had the meanneſs to take out of his pocket a paper or parchment, to which ſeveral ſeals were affixed, proteſting it was a treaty entered into by the priſoners with the King of England. The ſame author adds, that the Comte de Harcourt, and the three other gentlemen, denied to their death having any knowledge of that treaty. Notwithſtanding, they were led out of the city to a field, called the field of Pardon, where they were beheaded, even in the preſence of the king and of the dauphin. Thus was law and the very forms of it inſulted, thus was majeſty degraded into the office of a conſtable, of an executioner, of a tyrant, apprehending and dragging to puniſhment with his own hands the innocent, and ſatiating his eyes with their blood; as is remarked by the late hiſtorian of France, Nothing was wanting to finiſh the piece, but his polluting his ſacred hands by the moſt horrible of functions. Their bodies were hung in chains to the gallows of Rouen *, their heads were placed beſide them on pikes or lances fixed for the purpoſe. This violent and bloody action, in contempt of all forms and notions of juſtice, was one of the principal cauſes of the confuſions and calamities of this reign. The king

* Villaret, vol. ix. p 151, &c.

had

had his reaſons for proceeding in a different manner with regard to the King of Navarre.

It is ſurpriſing, that the diſpoſition to haraſs, oppreſs, and diffuſe ruin and miſery ſhould be ſo general in human nature. It is aſtoniſhing that a rational being, an individual, ſhould wiſh to purchaſe enjoyment at the price of the ſufferings of numbers. Yet we can diſcover this propenſity, in a greater or leſs degree, in every rank of life. The effects of it are more frequent in the higher ranks, becauſe the opportunities are ſo. To thoſe who are acquainted with the nature of the feudal government, it will excite little wonder, to meet with them in the conduct and proceedings of the baronial juriſdictions; yet the exactions and extortions of thoſe times can hardly be believed in our days. Their effects were ſeverely felt during the minority of Charles the VI. and even after he took the adminiſtration into his own hands. His uncles the Dukes of Anjou, Bourgone and Berry, had obtained different governments, with almoſt unlimited powers. As they were all of them ſenſual, prodigal, arrogant men, ſelf-intereſted, without regard to the welfare of their country; inſtead of guardians and promoters of the public ſecurity and happineſs, they were enemies and oppreſſors. The tyranny of the Duke of Berry was carried to ſuch an exceſs in his government of Languedoc, that the inhabitants driven to deſpair, and no longer able to endure it, were forced to ſend a deputation with their complaints to the throne. The

perſon

perſon intruſted with this dangerous commiſſion, was Jean de Grandſeve of the order of Bernardino. There was no ſpecies of extortion to which the inhabitants had not been expoſed. The towns and country laid under contribution by mercileſs exactors, preſented a frightful picture of ruin and deſolation; taxes and impoſitions of every kind, were renewed to five and even ſix times in a year; the people were hardly allowed time to breathe. Their goods were diſtrained, their perſons dragged to priſon; puniſhment followed the very thought of reſiſtance. More than forty thouſand families obliged to abandon their country, had fled for refuge to Arragon and the neighbouring provinces. So odious an abuſe of unlimited authority, had gone near to have made a deſert of one of the fineſt countries of France. As the unhappy ſufferers were afraid to accuſe the duke himſelf, Betizac his ſecretary and chief inſtrument was attacked. He was a fellow without honour, principle, or feeling; abject to his ſuperiors, inſolent to thoſe below him, but fertile in ruinous expedients, and a good calculator. As his avarice was inſatiable, he had amaſſed an immenſe fortune by the moſt iniquitous methods. In other reſpects he was timid, heavy, ignorant, without parts or talents. Yet, ſuch was his confidence in his maſter's ſupport, and in his ill-acquired wealth, that when aſked by his judges, how he had amaſſed ſuch prodigious treaſures, he had the inſolence to reply, My lords, my maſter, the Duke of Berry, is deſirous that all his ſervants ſhould grow rich.

Not-

Notwithſtanding the plaineſt proof in the courſe of the trial, of the charges brought againſt him, the duke was not aſhamed to ſend a meſſage to the judges, giving a ſanction to his conduct, and avowing that whatever he had done, was by his order and authority. This meſſage a good deal embarraſſed the council; however, not to ſuffer ſuch a villain to eſcape, they ſend a pretended friend to tell him, next morning is deſtined for his execution; and to perſuade him that if he confeſſed himſelf an heretic, he would be claimed by the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſent to Avignon, and acquitted by means of the credit of his maſter the Duke of Berry. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect, for when the young king was informed that he profeſſed to believe neither in the trinity, nor the incarnation, nor the immortality of the ſoul, he exclaimed he is a bad man, he is an heretic and thief, our pleaſure is that he be burned and hanged, nor ſhall all the credit of our dear uncle, the Duke of Berry, ever ſerve to ſcreen and ſave him *. Owing to this mean and diſingenuous artifice, inſtead of perhaps a milder puniſhment, he was burned alive. According to the barbarous faſhion of the age, in which princes and magiſtrates not only paſſed ſentence, but ſaw it executed, the king himſelf was a ſpectator of the horrid ſight from the windows of his palace. To give a ſanction to the puniſhment of the guilty, is ſufficient pain to a feeling and ſenſible mind, to behold it in its

* Villaret, vol. xii. p. 49, 50.

moſt

moſt horrid forms from curioſity or complacency, is the part of a ſavage, barbarian, or tyrant, not of a man, a judge, or a king.

Notwithſtanding the bigotted devotion of Lewis XI. though he built churches, endowed monaſteries, travelled in pilgrimage, confided in relics, worſhipped a leaden deity, yet (ſo different a thing is true piety and virtue) he had miſtreſſes, and three baſtards, was the immediate or remote cauſe of his father's miſerable death, yet he murdered by poiſon his wife and his brother, and made the baſeſt returns of ingratitude to the good Duke of Burgundy, who had afforded him a princely ſupport during many years, while on ill terms with his father; yet we are told by the faithful and moral Philip de Comines, that confiding, and encouraged by his mercenary troops and abject courtiers, he put to death no fewer than four thouſand perſons, without any ſhadow of conviction or trial. They were drowned, or ſtabbed, or ſtrangled in priſon. Nay, ſo cool and deliberate was his cruelty, that he even carried into it a degree of ingenuity and refinement, having invented a kind of iron cage, in which he immured the principal perſons of his kingdom, nobles, magiſtrates, generals, depriving them not only of liberty, but even of motion, treating rational beings (it is needleſs to add Chriſtians) like ſavage animals, like beaſts of prey, and of carnage. To deſcend to particulars would be endleſs; however, to ſhew what monſters uncontrolled power can make of us, let us conſider this

prince's

prince's treatment of Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours, and a deſcendent of the houſe of Clovis. He ordered him to be beheaded *, and by a new refinement in cruelty, his ſons, the eldeſt of which was but twelve years old, to appear on the ſcaffold, bareheaded, their hands tied, and dreſſed in white, that they may be ſprinkled with the blood of their expiring, murdered parent. This unfortunate nobleman was tried by commiſſioners, and therefore probably innocent. His crime is unknown. He was put into an iron cage, underwent the torture there received ſentence there. After the horrible ſcene alluded to above, his children were conducted; covered with the blood of their father to the Baſtile, and put in dungeons in the form of huts, where the uneaſy poſture they were ſubjected to, was a continual puniſhment and ſuffering. Not even yet ſatiated, their teeth were pulled out at different intervals. The fortunes of this inhumanly treated family, were ſhared without a bluſh among the very commiſſioners, the prince's judges.

Though the progreſs of letters and of commerce, and the revival of genuine Chriſtianity, with other cauſes, have contributed in a great degree to ſupply the defects of law, and to check and reſtrain this criminal and atrocious abuſe of power in princes and miniſters; yet ſo violent and unfeeling are ſuch characters, and the dread of diſtant and future puniſhment of ſuch feeble

* Eſſais Hiſtor. ſur Paris, vol. i. p. 83.

influence

influence over them, that the annals of more modern times are ſtill polluted and diſgraced with too many inſtances of the perverſion of their power, to the gratification of their malice and vengeance.

To allege any example taken from the tranſports of religious zeal and bigotry, is certainly not applicable to the ſubject of this eſſay. Though the following one may at firſt ſight appear of this nature, yet it will be found, upon a more attentive conſideration, to be more properly of unneceſſary and wanton cruelty, proceeding from pique and diſguſt and unawed authority; for ſurely any apprehenſion of the young man's diſcovering ſo important a ſecret, might have been guarded againſt in other ways than by his murder, and that too by a rival and enemy. Though the fatal day and cataſtrophe of St. Bartholemew, will render abhorred to lateſt poſterity the name and character of Charles the IXth; yet, in other reſpects, when not under the lawful influence of ſuperſtition, and falſe and diabolical notions of religion, he was not a prince of a cruel and ſanguinary nature. Nothing, however, can excuſe, or palliate the following inſtance of wanton and unneceſſary barbarity. Segneralles was a young man of faſhion, much eſteemed in the court of that prince. His fine parts, and high ſpirit, had recommended him in a particular manner to the Duke of Anjou. As they were one day converſing together in an unreſerved manner (as they frequently did on the preſent

preſent ſtate of affairs; the Duke, in order to learn Signerolles' ſentiments in a matter of ſo great importance, diſcovered (for he had the moſt entire confidence in him) the king's reſolution with regard to the horrid maſſacre that followed. Some days afterwards, Signerolles happening to be in the preſence, when the king (agreeably to his wonted diſſimulation) having diſmiſſed ſome of the Huguenot Lords with great marks of confidence and eſteem, and then ſeemed highly diſpleaſed at their unreaſonable demands; the indiſcreet young ſtateſman, either from want of retention, or agreeable to the natural vanity of youth (proud of being made privy to a ſecret of ſuch moment) came forward and whiſpered in the king's ear, that his Majeſty might bear patiently, and even laugh at their inſolence and preſumption, ſince in a few days they would be driven into the net, and then he would have them at diſcretion. The king was highly provoked, but pretending not to underſtand him, retired. When immediately ſending for the Count de Retz, Signerolles' intimate friend, and to whom he ſuſpected he had betrayed his ſecret, he ſeverely reproached him with the favours he had ſo ill deſerved; and threatened to make him feel all the weight of his reſentment for his treachery and perfidiouſneſs. The Count proteſting his innocence, the Queen was then called, and at laſt the Duke of Anjou, who acknowledged his indiſcretion; but ſaid he was confident the affair would never be mentioned by his friend Sig-

nerolles. That it ſhall not, replied the king, for he ſhall no longer live to have the opportunity *. Upon which his Majeſty, pretending to take the diverſion of hunting (which he often did at all hours), and Signerolles following agreeably to the cuſtom of the Court, the imprudent young man was inveigled aſide from the company under ſome pretence or other, and then barbarouſly murdered by a rival and enemy, purpoſely choſen to imbitter his fate. Conſidering the deluge of blood that followed, perhaps this prelude to it may not appear ſo ſurpriſing; but a limited prince, under the reſtraint of law and account, however bigotted or imbruted by ſuperſtition, would never have dared ſo malicious, wanton, and unneceſſary an aſſaſſination.

There is no expedient (even that of taking advantage of the weakneſs and credulity of mankind), which princes and miniſters will not make uſe of in order to gratify their odious and inhuman paſſions and reſentments. In the reign of Lewis XIII, weak and indolent, and a king only in name; his miniſter Richlieu, whom yet he both feared and hated, and whoſe memory and adminiſtration (notwithſtanding the invincible prejudices of certain writers) will ever be deteſted by all good Frenchmen, ordered one Grandier to be brought to a trial upon a moſt ridiculous accuſation, and in our days almoſt incredible. This perſon was curé and canon of Loudon, of a fine figure, and an eloquent preacher. The monks,

* Davila, lib. v. p. 280.

who

who envied and hated him, accuſed him of carrying on an amorous intercourſe with ſeveral of the nuns of the place. They even perſuaded or corrupted not a few of theſe unhappy and ignorant victims, to charge him with having gained a criminal aſcendency over them by magic and enchantment. In order to enſure the ſucceſs of their malevolent deſigns againſt the unfortunate Grandier, they endeavour to intereſt the cardinal in his condemnation, by repreſenting him as the author of a ſevere ſatire or libel on his perſon and family. Richlieu, who had not generoſity or greatneſs of mind to ſlight or pardon the leaſt reflection to his own diſparagement, readily gave credit to the calumny; and though he certainly believed neither in ſorcery nor witchcraft, with a view to prevent even a poſſibility of acquittal, ordered Grandier to be tried by commiſſioners, carefully ſelected upon account of their ignorance and credulity. The conſequences were natural, and what might have been expected: unanimouſly, without remorſe or pity, they condemn the forlorn victim, firſt to the ignominy of the amende honorable, and then to the cruel death of being burned alive.

To throw further light on the abuſe of uncontrolled power in this fine country, and on the deſpicable ſituation to which the inhabitants, and eſpecially the better ſort, have reduced themſelves by their unmanly and criminal inſenſibility and abject ſubmiſſion, I ſhall only quote a paſſage from Renneville's hiſtory of the Baſtile, that

ſojourn of ſolitude, of unpitied tears, of hopeleſs miſery. He enumerates various grievous indignities and ſeverities to which even people of quality and condition are expoſed, who are immured either in that, or in other places of ſtate-confinement in France. Among the reſt he mentions locking the feet in a diabolical ring, by a thick heavy chain, and a great globe of iron of an enormous weight. To ſhew the want of feeling, and of a ſenſe of perſonal dignity in that thoughtleſs people, they can ludicrouſly call theſe rings, &c. the King's nets. Renneville adds, I have ſeen many eminent perſons in theſe priſons and dungeons, dreary, melancholy and unwholeſome, with theſe chains about their legs; degraded and inſulted in this manner, not upon account of the violation of the laws, but for the moſt trivial offences againſt the Court.

When one conſiders the character of Philip II. of Spain; his diabolical bigotry or diſſimulation; his previous ſecret marriage with Donna Iſabella Oſſorio, when he publicly married his firſt wife Mary of Portugal; his murder of his own ſon, and of his own wife; the former by aſſaſſination, the latter by poiſon; his forcing the prince of Aſcoli to marry a lady great with child by the king himſelf; his oppreſſion of his own ſubjects, of Spain and Italy; his cruelties in the Low Countries; his attempts againſt all his neighbours; the ruin and deſolation he ſpread over the continent and iſlands of unhappy America; the

cruel

cruel and bloody diſturbances he fomented and aggravated in Europe (all which prove him to have been a very wicked but a very injudicious prince, and the moſt diſtant from being the ſtateſman his admirers pretend); to inſiſt on the following inſtance of his diſregard of even the appearances of juſtice, is falling into a kind of bathos in the hiſtory of the abuſes of power; it is almoſt like cenſuring breach of promiſe in a villain who had been guilty of robbery, and rapine, and murder; however, as it is characteriſtick of the licence of authority, I ſhall juſt mention it. A Spaniſh nobleman had incurred this prince's diſpleaſure by ſome piece of negligence, or ſeeming want of reſpect. Attentive ſolely to the ſuggeſtions of paſſion and reſentment, without deigning reproof, contemning all forms of law, accuſation, trial, witneſs, ſentence, he immediately orders him to be publickly aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Madrid. What is almoſt as ſhocking and extraordinary, his own confeſſor had the audacity to defend and palliate the action [È].

Notwithſtanding the excellence of our own government, yet during periods of a ſort of anarchy, and the fluctuation of the conſtitution, we are ſhocked with ſeveral inſtances of oppreſſion, malice, cruelty, and barbarity in our princes and magiſtrates. As many of theſe are taken notice of by our numerous writers of hiſtory, but particularly by Mr. Hume, whoſe work is in every one's hands, it may be the leſs neceſſary to

inſiſt on them; however, for the ſake of uniformity, and as a ſpecimen of the others, I ſhall give two or three inſtances.

The begining of a new reign is ſometimes favourable to juſtice and humanity. The motive is often caprice, or diſlike of whatever was done during the former adminiſtration; it may alſo be owing to the mind not being yet corrupted and hardened by the long poſſeſſion of power; the latter reaſon is by no means an improbable one, as the progreſs and concluſion of ſuch reigns do not often correſpond with their commencement. The fact and reign we are going to allude to, is no inconſiderable proof of the truth of the obſervation.

We learn from Roger Hoveden, that among the perſons ſet at liberty upon Richard I's acceſſion to the throne, thoſe were no inconſiderable number who had been apprehended, and detained in priſon at the ſuit of the king or that of his juſtice, and who were not confined agreeably to a legal proceeding in the county or hundred, or by appeal. The ſame kind of oppreſſion and tyranny was practiſed by the miniſters of king John; and ſo contagious is this ſpirit, that in the reign of the firſt Edward, the barons were very deſirous of having the ſame power of impriſoning perſons at their pleaſures, for treſpaſſes committed in their parks and ponds; but Edward did not chuſe aſſociates with him in this royal licence, and rejected their petition. The ridiculous

diculous ſeverity of our modern game-laws [F], is a ſpecies of the ſame kind of tyranny and oppreſſion; and another proof of the propenſity of mankind, to encroach on the plaineſt and commoneſt rights, and to pervert the advantages of their ſituation, to the irritating inconvenience and even ſufferings of their neighbours and fellow-citizens, notwithſtanding all the checks and reſtraints of civility and letters, morality and goſpel.

In the 10th year of the ſame prince, the archbiſhop of Canterbury thus complains and expoſtulates in parliament: "Among other heavy grievances, how many freemen of the realm have been thrown into diverſe priſons by the king's miniſters there, to be immured and excluded from all the rights of men and citizens, as if they had been ſo many ſlaves. Of theſe, how many in thoſe ſojourns of diſeaſe, of miſery, and of oblivion, have died of hunger, of grief; and ſeveral even of the very weight of their chains? From others of better condition, exorbitant ſums of money have been extorted for their ranſom as it were, and recovery of their liberty, to the infinite detriment, and often the ruin of themſelves, their wives and children."

That odious and contemptible prince, King John; that perjured ſovereign; that betrayer of the honour and independence of his country; that voluntary vaſſal of an arrogant pontiff, the progreſs of whoſe uſurpation is a reproach and

diſgrace to the common ſenſe of mankind; that wretch, who to recover what the Engliſh nation thought him unworthy of, would have apoſtatiſed to the ſuperſtition of Mahomet, and become the tributary of an infidel and a barbarian; among other inſtances of his violence and cruelty, cauſed Geoffry, Archdeacon of Norwich, to be dragged to priſon and thrown into chains; and not yet ſatiated, a few days afterwards a leaden ape to be laid upon him, with whoſe preſſure, and for want of ſuſtenance, he ſoon expired in the agonies of hunger and torment. Even perſons entruſted with a delegated authority, and unhallowed by a crown, can imbibe the ſame principles and maxims, and act accordingly, when not deterred by the fear of future conſequences. Thus, during the minority of Richard II. an Iriſh monk having accuſed the Duke of Lancaſter of dangerous and treaſonable deſigns, was firſt committed to priſon, and then with a view to ſtifle his evidence, barbarouſly murdered by the Duke's order. In this reign alſo the Duke of Glouceſter was ſtabbed in priſon at Calais. His nephew, King Richard, not daring to bring him to a public trial, had thrown him into that place of confinement, where he was privately murdered by his Majeſty's order, notwithſtanding a parliamentary ſanction and pardon of the proceedings of his adminiſtration. The king's cruel violence againſt his uncle, was owing to that virtuous nobleman's diſapprobation of the prodigality and tyranny of his nephew's

phew's conduct, and the pernicious licence and influence of his favourites and minions; yet the Duke of Glouceſter was a friend to his country, generous, eloquent, and brave.

Various cauſes concurred, the oceans of blood of the nobility, gentry, commonality, poured out not generouſly in defence of a conſtitution, but abſurdly in the cauſe of rival pretenders to a throne, none of whom were worthy of wearing it (one of the admirable advantages of regal government); the united titles of the roſes in Henry VII. by marriage; the ſucceſs of that prince againſt his foreign and domeſtic enemies, and that temporary relaxation of ſpirit, in maintenance both of national rights and privileges, and the proſecution of enterpriſe whether commercial or military; to which, during certain periods of their hiſtory, all countries are ſubject; all theſe reaſons and circumſtances, with many others in this and the following reigns, conſpired to encourage the princes of the houſe of Tudor, to exerciſe a kind of deſpotic authority in England, unknown to our conſtitution, and to the maxims of our anceſtors and of former ſovereigns, during times of order and regular government. The firſt prince of that houſe is as well entitled to our abhorrence on theſe accounts, as moſt of his ſucceſſors. We all read with ſatisfaction the deſerved, though illegal fate of Empſom and Dudley, thoſe proſtitute tools of his exactions and oppreſſions. Notwithſtanding the ſuperior

perior birth and education of the latter, they were equally the vile inſtruments of his avarice and tyranny. At firſt they paid ſome regard to appearances, but the abject ſubmiſſion of the nation ſoon gave them confidence to diſdain even the palliations of decency. They no longer proceed by what is called indictment. Perſons of rank and conſideration are thrown into priſon, and for ever precluded the right of ſelf-defence and of trial. The only means of recovering their liberty, is by the payment of heavy fines or ranſoms, which are ſoftened with the names of mitigations and compoſitions. By degrees the very forms of law are ſlighted. They ſummon and examine in their own houſes, and paſs ſentence, without regard to either witneſs or juries. When they deign to require the aſſiſtance of that bulwark of Engliſh independence; if thoſe who formed it, preſumed to determine contrary to the inclination and views of theſe inquiſitors, they were inſulted, abuſed, nay fined, impriſoned, puniſhed. The exceſſive powers of the feudal law, which then prevailed, were ſtrained to the higheſt pitch. Heirs of family, the king's wards, could not enter into poſſeſſion of their eſtates, but at the penalty of exorbitant fines. The penal ſtatutes were extended and abuſed to all the purpoſes of avarice and inhumanity. To treat this ſubject properly, in reference to our own hiſtory, would require a diſtinct treatiſe.

But it is time to turn our eyes from a picture ſo ſhocking, ſo diſhonourable to our ſpecies. I truſt,

truſt, however, that though drawn by ſo unſkilful an hand, the colours will laſt, and the draught be of ſervice, at leaſt to my countrymen and fellow-citizens. For conſidering the progreſs of arbitrary power in the nations around us; the increaſe of taxes, of armies, both civil and military; the defenceleſs ſtate of the unarmed; our frequent intercourſe with foreign and deſpotic courts, both by negociation and travel, particularly that of France; our equally injudicious and corrupt admiration of their politics and manners; our own effeminacy, ſelfiſhneſs, and diſregard of public good; and let me add, a moſt alarming ſymptom (notwithſtanding the ſneers of certain characters), the ridicule and contempt into which the moſt noble of characters, that of a patriot or lover of his country, has lately fallen, through the artifices of ſome and hypocriſy of others; I ſay, conſidering all theſe multiplied reaſons and circumſtances, it is certainly, and in a very high degree, the duty of all perſons of liberal ſentiment and of political reflection, and whoſe experience is not confined to the narrow obſervation of their own crimes, to call forth all their attention; to look forward, and to anticipate what may be the probable condition of their children and deſcendants in no very diſtant period. The very ſcenes, the very exceſſes and enormities we have been deſcribing, may be again repeated, and even with aggravation.

The

The legiſlature, the fountain of juſtice and equity (the calamity is not without precedent), may be corrupted in its very ſource; may be perverted into a tool of oppreſſion and tenfold tyranny, and the reſtraints of law and controul, being ſapped or thrown down, the princes of Europe [G] may be inflamed into fiends and demons, their ſubjects degraded into the vileſt ſlaves and beaſts of burthen. In vain is it proteſted by every prince, by every miniſter, that nothing is ſo diſtant from their views as oppreſſion and tyranny; that they abhor and deteſt ſuch maxims and proceedings, and what appearance ſoever a meaſure may have of innovation, or oppoſition to the ſpirit and genius of our conſtitution; be it the ſuſpenſion of our palladium, or foreign troops and mercenaries, or oppreſſive taxes, yet their only purpoſe in the meaſure is the ſecurity, ſupport, and reputation of the empire. Notwithſtanding all hiſtory, and I truſt this eſſay too, plainly proves the contrary, calls aloud not to believe or truſt them, and declares in every page, that whenever princes or miniſters meet not with obſtacles to their views and deſigns, however ſelfiſh or ruinous, and though aimed at the very corner-ſtones and pillars of the conſtitution, they will endeavour to attempt, if not reſolutely oppoſed, to undermine, or openly to overturn them [H]; and that unreſtrained power is not to be truſted in mortal hands, but will ever be abuſed to the ruin and miſery

miſery of thoſe who are ſubject to it; and in the end, ſpite of their injudicious pride and ignorance, to that of the poſſeſſors. In few words, to all theſe ignorant or inſidious proteſtations of princes and miniſters, the experience of all ages authoriſes and commands us to reply in the ſtrong and emphatical language of Cicero, "Non faciemus, inquit, primum neſcio: deinde timeo: poſtremo non committam ut veſtro beneficio potius quam noſtro conſilio ſalvi eſſe poſſimus [I].

NOTES.

Note [A], p. 83.

MADAM de Sevigné writes to her daughter, 4th of September 1675, That when upon the death of M. de Turenne, the Chevalier de Coiſlin ſaid or intimated he could ſerve no longer after having loſt that great man; that he was in an ill ſtate of health; that ſolely to ſee him, and to be with him, he had acted in the laſt campaign; but that having him now no longer, he would go to Bourbon, Lewis XIV. was ſo much offended, that he immediately gave away his regiment, and threatened, that were it not upon account of his brothers, he would have ſent him to the Baſtile. Were not his admiration, and grief, and dejection excuſable! Had he conſpired againſt the king, could he have reſented it in a much higher tone of ſeverity? What folly! what mean-ſpiritedneſs in a nation, in gentlemen, to ſuffer any individual, any prince to arrogate ſuch pernicious licence!

Note [B], p. 84.

THOUGH Lyſimachus had the good fortune to eſcape out of the jaws of the lion; yet afterwards, when he was raiſed to a throne, the hazard he had run, and the inſult he had ſuffered, did not teach him more humanity and ſelf-command. The account given us by Seneca

Seneca and Plutarch of his treatment of his friend Teleſphorus the Rhodian ſhew, that he far exceeded his maſter in the ſavage violence of his nature. He endeavoured by the moſt barbarous mutilations, to deprive him even of our human figure. He cut off his noſe and ears, fed him in a pit like a wild beaſt, conſtrained him to ſuffocate and putrify in his natural diſcharges, and by the narrowneſs of the place, to go on all fours, on his hands and knees; hence he was ſuch a ſpectacle as was equally beaſtly and horrible; yet as the philoſopher with great juſtice remarks, when he who ſuffered ſuch things was leaſt like a man, he was more like one than he who inflicted them. Seneca de Ira, & Plutarch de exilio.

The reaſon of this brutal action of Alexander's, was Lyſimachus's compaſſion for the cruel fate of Calliſthenes, the philoſopher, a perſon of great virtue and merit, and whom Alexander had moſt unjuſtly condemned to die by torture. Lyſimachus liſtened with a melancholy pleaſure to his laſt inſtructions, which were all of a moral nature (the ſerenity of his ſoul allowed him to give them even in that extremity), and then, in order to put a period to his agonies, humanely and generouſly gave him poiſon. It ſeems the intoxication of power very ſpeedily effaced their impreſſion.

NOTE [C], p. 90.

THE faithful experience of hiſtory ſuggeſted the ſame obſervation to Machiavel, "E di tutti le ſervitu dure, quella é duriſſima che te ſottimette ad una Republica.—Perché il fine della Republica é enervare e indebolire (per accreſcere il corpo ſuo), tutti gli altri corpi, &c. Diſcorſi, lib. ii. cap. ii.

NOTE

Note [D], p. 93.

COME era il Populo Romano, il quale mentre duro la Republica incorrotta, non ſervi mai umilmente, nè mai domino ſuperbamente, anzi con li ſuoi ordini e magiſtrati tenne il grado ſuo onorevilmente. Machiavelli diſcorſi, lib. i. c. lviii.

The true method of acquiring and maintaining dominion and territory in general, is admirably ſhewn by the ſame great man, and illuſtrated in the example of the Romans. Vid. Diſcorſi, lib. i. cap. xxxiii. and lib. ii. cap. xxi. Indeed it is ſo obvious to good ſenſe, true policy and humanity, that it alſo occurs where one would leaſt have expected it, even in Pantagruel, liv. ii. cap. i. Noterez donc ici bouveurs, que la manière d'entretenir & retenir pays, nouvellement conqueſtez, n'eſt (comme a eſté l'opinion erronée de certains eſprits tyranniques a leur dam & deſhonneur), les peuples pillant, forcant, angariant, ruinant, mal vexant & regiſſant avec verges de fer," &c. p. 35, 36, 37, 38. vol. iv. Rablais edit. 1752.

It is pity that certain characters who at preſent talk ſo much of reputation, dignity, &c. would not read and profit by the following obſervations: " Le droit de " la guerre dérive donc de la neceſſité & du juſte re- " gide. Si ceux qui dirigent la conſcience, ou les con- " ſeils de princes, ne ſe tiennent pas là, tout eſt per- " du; &, lorſqu'on ſe fondera ſur des principes ar- " bitraires de gloire, de bienſéance, d'utilité, de flots " de ſang inonderont la terre.

" Que l'on ne parle pas ſur tout de la gloire du " prince. Sa gloire ſeroit ſon orgueil; c'eſt une paſ- " ſion, & non pas un droit légitime.

" Il

" Il eſt vrai que la reputation de ſa puiſſance pour-
" roit augmenter les forces de ſon état; mais la repu-
" tation de ſa juſtice les augmenteroit tout de meme."
L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. x. cap. ii.

NOTE [E], p 133.

IT may be worth while to obſerve that when Antonio Perez, ſecretary of ſtate and favourite to this prince, was put to the moſt cruel torture, Father Latinos, a Franciſcan preacher, in a ſermon in the king's chapel, thus addreſſes himſelf to the courtiers: " Mor-
" tals, what is it you are all mad and gaping about with
" open mouths? What, do you not ſee the danger you
" live in? Do you not ſee it? Do you not ſee thoſe
" who were the other day on the pinacle of favour, to-
" day on the rack, and perſecuted cruelly for many
" years, and nobody knows for what?"

NOTE [F], p. 135.

TALKING of the injuſtice and inhumanity of the Game Laws, puts me in mind of a remarkable paſſage in the French hiſtory. It is related of Enguerand de Coucy, ſon to that famous Enguerand, who had aſpired to the crown of France in the early part of the reign of St. Lewis. This young nobleman, ſucceeding to all the fortunes of his father, by the death of his elder brother at the famous battle of Maſſouſe, was of a very violent and overbearing diſpoſition. It happened three young Flemiſh gentlemen, ſent by their parents to the abbey of St. Nicholas des Bois, to learn the French language, one day took a walk from the monaſtery, and amuſed themſelves with ſhooting at rabbits with their arrows. The purſuit of their ſport carried them even to the woods of Coucy, where they were ſtopt and ſeized by the Count's game-keepers, and

brought before him. He orders them to be hanged immediately, without a hearing, and without giving them time to prepare themſelves for a death which they did not imagine they had deſerved. See the noble conduct of St. Lewis on this occaſion. Velly, vol. v. p. 162.

NOTE [G], p. 140.

IS not the poſſibility of ſuch a revolution ſuppoſed in the following paſſage: "La plupart des peuples "d'Europe ſont *encore* gouvernez par les mœurs. Mais, "ſi, par un long abus du pouvoir, ſi, par *une grande* "*conquéte*, le deſpotiſme s'établiſſoit à un certain point, "il n'y auroit pas des mœurs ni de climat qui tinſſent, "& dans cette belle partie du monde, la nature hu- "maine ſouffriroit, au moins par un temps, les inſultes "qu'on lui fait dans les trois autres." L'Eſprit des Loix, lib. vii. cap. 8.

NOTE [H], p. 140.

EVEN Hobbes could ſay, "Of all paſſions, that which inclineth men leaſt to break the laws, is "fear. Nay, excepting ſome generous natures, it is "the only thing (when there is appearance of profit or "pleaſure by breaking the laws), that makes men keep "them." Works, p. 229. edit. folio, 1750.

NOTE [I], p. 141.

DURING the criſis of the memorable feceſſion at Rome, Brutus very juſtly repreſented to the people, "That the only ſecurity to thoſe who were "afraid of their ſuperiors, was for the former to be "convinced, that, if the others had the will to injure "them, they ſhould not have the power; for as long "as ill men had the power, they would never want "the will." Donyſius Hal. lib. vi. cap. lxxxvii.

The

The principle of this treatiſe might be further illuſtrated by the hiſtory of all nations, or bodies of men poſſeſſed of unreſtrained power; particularly by that of the nations of Europe during the feudal times, and in the exceſſes, enormities, and crimes of the Spaniards, the Portugueſe, the Dutch in South America; and lately, and even in our own times, of the Engliſh in India, &c. It is needleſs to mention the cruelties of the different ſects of religion againſt one another, the exorbitances of the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion, of the uſurpation under the Parliament and under Cromwell; the ſame violence and cruelty pollute and vilify our ſpecies, and prove that law and terror are as neceſſary reſtraints on princes, nations and bodies of men, as locks, bars and irons on the felons of Newgate. Let us alſo add the ſanction of M. de Monteſquieu,—"Mais c'eſt une experience eternelle, que tout homme "qui a du pouvoir eſt porté à en abuſer; il va juſqu' "à ce qu'il trouve des limits. Qui le diroit! la vertu "même a beſoin des limites." L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. ii. cap. iv.

V.

Of HAPPINESS and TRANQUILLITY of MIND.

Croyez moi, cher ami, nous n'avons pas vécus,
Employer ſes talens, ſon temps & ſa vertu,
Servir au bien public, illuſtrer ſa patrie,
Ponſer enfin, c'eſt la que commence la vie,
Voila les vrais plaiſirs, dignes de tous nos veux
La volupte, par qui l'honnete homme eſt heureux.

Greſſet's Sidnie.

HAPPINESS and tranquillity of mind, though purſued by ways and methods ſo different, and even oppoſite, is the pretended view of all men. Some place it in the acquiſition of knowledge, more in that of power, moſt in that of riches. This conſtant object of deſire is always conſidered as at a diſtance; the mere purſuit of it is never eſteemed its principal conſtituent. In all our exertions, in the exerciſe and employment of all our talents, we look forward to a ſtate of inaction, repoſe and ceſſation from labour, and never think we have attained our object, or can be reckoned happy, till we have reached this longed-for period. Then in our apprehenſion exertion, induſtry, activity, care, anxiety, are to

take their flight, are no longer to moleſt us; and to be ſucceeded by eaſe, ſerenity, perfect tranquillity and enjoyment. But I fear this way of reaſoning and concluſion are very erroneous and unphiloſophical. Indeed it ſeems evident, from general obſervation and experience, that happineſs conſiſts much rather in the powers and talents exerciſed and brought into action in the purſuit of any end, than in the attainment of the end itſelf. As has been obſerved by an eloquent writer *, what is it that animates the hunter to a degree of enthuſiaſm, when he hears the cry of the dogs, and the ſound of the horn? What the wild American at the ſong of war? but the emotion, the ardour to be felt and experienced, the hardſhips, the dangers to be incurred in the chaſe or the conflict! Give the one his quarry and prey, the other the rival or enemy of his nation or tribe, without the emotions and agitation that are experienced in the purſuits of hunting and war, the hopes and apprehenſions, the addreſs, the ſpeed, the intrepidity, the deſpair, the exultation and triumph, and both will hardly thank you for your officiouſneſs; the one will return diſappointed, chagrined, and without appetite; the other with diſlike, ſullenneſs, and diſſatisfaction, reckoning neither himſelf worthy to inflict, nor his captive to endure what they call the honours of a man. The ſame obſervation may be applied to perſons addicted to games of chance or of ſkill.

* Mr. Paſcal and Mr. Ferguſon.

Their

Their ſatisfactions do not ariſe from the ſtake that is won, how trifling or conſiderable ſoever; but from the art, the memory, the ingenuity, the various emotions of hope and fear, of ſucceſs or defeat, that are exerted and experienced in the obtaining of it; and the prize without theſe animating and alarming accompaniments, would be entirely lame and inſipid [A].

The truth of this idea of happineſs might be further illuſtrated by the inſtance of Pyrrhus, and in an inferior degree, by that of the dealer in milk, near the Hague, whoſe ſtory is told us by Sir William Temple. It was the propoſal of Pyrrhus to his friends and followers, to reſign themſelves to the enjoyments of eaſe, and the pleaſures of the table, after having braved and overcome every hardſhip and every danger in the conqueſt of the greater part of the world. But probably both himſelf and his miniſter Cinias, who ſuggeſted why not *now immediately*, were equally deceived and miſtaken, and both would have diſcovered, that the gratifications of ſenſe and appetite, without the ſeaſoning of agitation, of hope and apprehenſion, of a diſtant object of deſire, are worſe calculated than even the moſt alarming occaſions to guard againſt liſtleſſneſs, languor, diſſatisfaction, and the tedium of life.

The other inſtance is more appoſite, and uſeful, becauſe more applicable to the general condition and circumſtances of mankind. It is of a perſon whoſe occupation was the ſale of the pro-

duce of the dairy. Having acquired a conſiderable fortune by this ſpecies of traffic, and wiſhing to enjoy the remainder of his life in eaſe and tranquillity, he diſpoſed of the ſources of his wealth, bought a houſe at the Hague, and furniſhed it with every comfort and convenience. But his imagined happineſs was of ſhort duration, and he ſoon diſcovered that nothing could be more erroneous, than to place this deſired ſtate of the mind in indolence and inoccupation. He therefore, like a wiſe man, made all poſſible haſte to diſpoſe of his purchaſe, and to take refuge and return again to the conduct and management of his dairy and farm. So true is it, that this ſighed-for ſtate of the mind, that tranquillity and enjoyment, depend much rather on occupation and emotion, ſuited to our tempers, habits, talents and circumſtances, than in an entire ceſſation of labour and exertion, in freedom from expectation and deſire.

The happineſs of a perſon of condition and education ſeems to conſiſt in the proper exerciſe of his faculties and talents. In an attention to his private affairs, in the acquiſition of knowledge, in the diſcharge of his public duties, in converſation, in building, in planting. This is the light in which happineſs has been viewed in all countries and ages by the beſt and greateſt men. So thought the Platos, the Xenophons, the Brutus's, the Ciceros [B]. They never imagined a ſituation wherein they were to be entirely inactive, and reſign themſelves to a ſtate of ſloth and ſuppoſed enjoyment.

enjoyment. They required nothing more but temporary ſuſpenſions of the exerciſe of their active powers, in order to repair their waſted forces, and begin a new career. When Cicero, by the exerciſe of the fineſt talents, in the nobleſt manner, had reached the higheſt ſummit of glory in the Roman commonwealth, if it had been ſuggeſted to him, that he had accompliſhed his utmoſt wiſhes, now he might reſign himſelf to the fruition of his reputation and fame, he would have ſmiled and replied, the perſon was greatly miſtaken, that ſuch a ſpecies of felicity was but momentary ſatisfaction, that real happineſs was of a very different nature, and conſiſted much more in the talents exerciſed in the purſuit of any end, than in the accompliſhment of our wiſhes, and the attainment of the end itſelf; and that the termination of one purſuit, be the object public meaſure, or poem, or hiſtory, or building, &c. did no more than open the way to the commencement of another. When the pious and illuſtrious Mr. Locke had enlightened the world with his immortal eſſay or firſt treatiſe, do you think any thing could have given him ſo great pain, and made him ſo unhappy, as to have been obliged to burn his ſtandiſh and port-folio, and acquieſce in the enjoyment of his reputation, without further views to ſtudy and compoſition? Whichever was the firſt work of Xenophon's or any other great genius, the ſame propoſal would have been treated with the ſame contempt. Apply this reaſoning to every ſtation and character

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in life, and it will hold equally good, to the ſtateſman, the general, the merchant. Even in the dying hour, under the preſſure of diſeaſe and of pain, vigorous minds have ſtill an object in view *. Muly Moluck, when the powers of ſpeech were no more, enſured the preſervation of his army by a ſign with his finger on his lips; and in Mazarine's laſt illneſs, when upon account of his ſituation he was cautioned by his phyſicians not to revolve his laſt teſtament with ſo earneſt an attention; he replied, not to do it would be worſe to him than death. So neceſſary to ſatisfaction is a certain degree of activity and intenſeneſs of mind, even to the laſt moment of exiſtence.

As man is an imperfect being, as he is ſubject to diſeaſe, and as he lives in ſociety, his happineſs is alſo greatly influenced by natural diſpoſition, by the ſtate of his health, by his connections, a perſon ſuffering under low ſpirits, an acute or lingering diſorder, or unfortunate in his children or friends, is capable of little enjoyment. But theſe melancholy circumſtances excepted, and place him in any ſituation in which his talents may be exerciſed, and his emotions excited with hopes of ſucceſs in politics, in war, in ſcience, in commerce, and you have found a poſition for him, in which he may experience as great a degree of happineſs as his nature admits. Nothing ſo diſtant, nothing ſo oppoſite to this

* Thuanus, lib. lxv. † Madame de Motteville.

ſtate, as one of repoſe and of ſloth, in which no object to rouſe and to animate. Let the languor and *ennui* of thoſe unfortunate victims entombed in cells and in dormitory, bear witneſs to the truth of this obſervation, and let the policy of a certain church bluſh with ſhame and confuſion, to have it recorded, that in order to maintain and increaſe their temporal riches and dominion, thouſands, millions of their fellow-creatures who might have been fathers and mothers, and in various ways uſeful and happy members of ſociety, are daily offered in ſacrifice on the altars of avarice and ambition; are pining in diſcontent, liſtleſſneſs, and miſery.

After the ſubverſion of the Roman commonwealth; after it became dangerous to be illuſtriouſly eminent; after, inſtead of virtue and talents, proſtitution and inferiority, or meanneſs of parts, were the moſt ſucceſsful and beſt recommendations to confidence and office, perſons of integrity and reflection, in order to reconcile themſelves, and even to give luſtre to obſcurity, affected to deſpiſe the influence and emoluments of court favour, to diſparage all active engagements, and to repreſent happineſs as conſiſting in the enjoyments of frugality and leiſure. The indolent and politic Horace and Virgil adorned theſe ſentiments with their harmony and numbers. The writings of Seneca, who contended and ſtruggled with vice and oſtentation under the worſt of the Roman emperors, are crowded

crowded notwithſtanding their ſtoiciſm, with reflections and exhortations of the ſame tendency. But the impulſe of nature was ſtronger and mightier than all the eloquence of an effeminate philoſophy; few converts were gained over, and the general feelings of mankind revolted againſt this forced and unnatural way of thinking and idea of felicity. Their daily feelings and experience convinced them, that in order to enjoy, to be as happy as our nature permits, we muſt court emotion and a diſtant object; we muſt ſtill aſpire and puſh forward, and bring their talents to the teſt in court, in the ſenate, in the forum, in ſcience, in the lucrative and commercial arts.

They who walk the high grounds of ambition, muſt reckon on encountering many obſtacles and difficulties. This is one of the penalties of their diſtinction, in what it differs from the vale of private life; though the latter is not without its humbler care and impediments. But nothing will be more erroneous than to look upon theſe circumſtances as ſubverſive of happineſs, or adverſe to it. It is in overcoming, in ſubduing, in removing theſe obſtacles; it is in the talents, the ardour, the addreſs called forth and exerciſed in the glorious ſtruggle, that they experience and glow with that emotion and ſentiment which gives ſuch a charm to the conſciouſneſs of exiſtence. "Marcit ſine adverſario virtus, tunc apparet quanta ſit, quantum valeat quantumque polleat, cum quid poſſit patientia oſtendit." Who can deem happy the life of the

the drone and the ſluggard, when compared with the generous efforts of even unſucceſsful virtue. "Semper vero eſſe felicem & ſine morſu animi tranſire vitam, ignorare eſt rerum naturæ alteram partem." Can the beſt enjoyments of the retainers and herd of epicures bear any compariſon with the illuſtrious though melancholy fates of a Socrates, of a Cato, of a Brutus? "Itaque quidam ultro ſe ceſſantibus malis obtulerunt & virtuti ituræ in obſcurum occaſionem, per quam initeſceret, queſierunt: Gaudent, inquam, magni viri aliquando rebus adverſis, non aliter quam fortes milites bellis; avida eſt periculi virtus, et quo tendat, non quid paſſura ſit, cogitat—militares viri gloriantur vulneribus, leti fluentem meliore caſu ſanguinem oſtentant." Do you imagine, that during the glorious conteſt in defence of our unalienable rights againſt the tyranny of our ſecond prince of the houſe of Stuart, that thoſe who ſpoke, acted, and fought in that generous cauſe, were leſs happy, than the indolent, ſelfiſh, baſe, and puſillanimous, who fled for refuge from the alarming calls of duty and virtue, to the couches and brothels of ſenſuality, or to the languors, yawning, and reſtleſſneſs of a criminal repoſe.

Nothing indeed can be more falſe in theory, nothing more contrary to practice, than to place happineſs in inoccupation, in a condition in which there is no room for either hope or fear; from which every degree of exertion, all attention, care, and anxiety ſeem entirely excluded. As a further illuſtration

illuſtration of the truth of this reaſoning and theſe ſentiments, obſerve only the conduct and reſtleſſneſs of thoſe who have been educated to no liberal profeſſion, or have in view no generous and worthy purſuit [C]. Do they appear to acquieſce in the advantages of their fortune and ſituation? why then ſo reſtleſs? why then that inexpreſſible languor? why when the hour of our firſt repaſt is over, are they ſo much at a loſs to fill up the day? why do they go out, hurry through their acquaintance, aſk every one for news, and all this only to return again? Why have they recourſe to the amuſements of the chace, to the exhilarations of wine, to the hazards and emotions of the card and gaming-table, to the mazes of gallantry, to the rage of erecting buildings and plantations? Is it not evident, from all theſe inſtances, that laudable purſuit, ſome occupation that may afford the mind an opportunity of ſucceſsfully exerciſing its powers, is eſſential to happineſs, its beſt foundation and chief conſtituents [D]. Is not every perſon engaged in a profeſſion; is not the lawyer, the merchant, the farmer, the manufacturer, infinitely happier than a character of the above deſcription? What then we call amuſements and recreations, claim but a ſmall ſhare in the general ſcheme of happineſs; and it is only by the variety and breathing time they afford, that they contribute to fill up and compleat the picture of human felicity and enjoyment: they are acceſſaries not principals, decoration not food, the perfumes, the garlands of the banquets of the antients. But to rely

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on the one without the other, would be as abſurd as to imagine, that in order to live, to eat without ceaſing were neceſſary. A return of occupation, of exertion, of emotion, is as requiſite in the one caſe, as of abſtinence, of intermiſſion, in the other.

With regard to the various accidents and diſtreſſes of human life, the diſeaſes of the body, the errors of children, the inequalities of wives, the treachery of friends, the malice of enemies, the ingratitude of dependents, the unfaithfulneſs of ſervants, and other moral and phyſical evils that continually beſet and infeſt us, they muſt be endured when they cannot be avoided: for notwithſtanding the ſublime extravagancies of ſtoiciſm, theſe melancholy circumſtances muſt darken the ſunſhine of the moſt ſucceſsful purſuits, and their effects are only to be weakened by time, by reflections on the condition of our nature, and more earneſt purſuit of our honeſt and laudable purpoſes. They muſt be ſubmitted to, as to an earthquake, a hurricane, a peſtilence, or the deſolating conſequences of war. For ſurely a common topic of comfort, that ſuch adverſe accidents are unavoidable, and have befallen as good or better men, is poor conſolation to a perſon even of common good nature and humanity. But why are they unavoidable? and the ſufferings of my fellow-creatures ought rather to increaſe, than ſolace my own. As was obſerved above, occupation and laudable purſuits are the moſt effectual remedies: and when Cicero was deprived of his accompliſhed and beloved

beloved daughter Tullia, in the prime of life, the diſtraction and emotion he experienced in compoſing one of his philoſophical treatiſes, was much more efficacious in alleviating his juſt ſorrow, than the beautiful and eloquent letter of Sulpicius, or the philoſophical converſations and reaſonings of all his friends.

Reſpecting ſenſual gratifications, they are very inconſiderable ingredients in what we call happineſs. As was hinted above, ſuch enjoyments are tranſient and momentary, and cannot be renewed till after long intervals. They are even ſlighted and diſregarded when the mind is ardently intent on any object. But the exerciſes of humanity, of generoſity, of benevolence, the honourable increaſe of our fortune, of our reputation, our exertions, even our ſelf-denials for our country or our friends [E], yield a rich and inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, not only during their energies, but as often as they paſs in recollection through the mind. We glory in the nobleneſs and rectitude of our views and diſpoſitions, we mix in ſociety with confidence and pleaſure, becauſe we know (and exult in the conſciouſneſs) that we are entitled to their affection and eſteem [F].

As to conſtant and abſolute tranquillity, the deſire of it is ridiculous, and human life does not admit of it [G]; for deprive men of their views, of their objects, and inſtead of enjoyment they immediately ſink into a ſtate of reſtleſſneſs and languor. Hence the judicious Plutarch obſerves

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of thoſe who, for the ſake of tranquillity, adviſe not to engage in a variety of affairs, either of a private or a public nature, that they purchaſe it at a very dear rate, that of indolence. It is juſt like adviſing any one, as if he were ſick, to lie conſtantly in bed. But that would be an ill medicine for the body, which, to deliver it from pain, would deprive it of all feeling; and no better phyſician would he be to the mind, who, to guard it from all care and anxiety, would render it ſlothful, effeminate, and unfaithful to the duties we owe our families, our friends, and our country. Beſides, it is not true that theſe enjoy peace and tranquillity of mind, who engage in no ſerious affair of any kind: for were it ſo, women would be much happier in theſe reſpects than men; yet languor, and cares, and jealouſies, and many vain apprehenſions, invade their moſt ſecret retirements. And though Laërtes lived ſo many years in the country, at a diſtance from his palace and all the duties of royalty, yet his ſorrows never forſook him, and he was probably even more unhappy in ſuch a ſtate of inaction, than if he had continued in the diſcharge of his royal dignity: Beſides, to perſons of a right way of thinking, it gives not leſs pain to neglect their duty, than to violate a moral obligation, and ſuch neglect is ſuch violation.

The ſame eloquent writer proceeds *: Indeed thoſe who give themſelves up to a life of in-

* De occulte vivendo, vol. ii. p. 1129.

dolence and repoſe, loſe all the capacities of action; they forfeit all penetration and vigour of mind [H]; and as the pureſt and brighteſt ſtreams grow putrid in ſtagnation, when interrupted in their courſe, and ſhut out from the wholeſome beams of the ſun by withered leaves and decayed branches; in the ſame manner thoſe perſons become torpid, inſenſible, and ſtupid, and totally incapable of affairs, who relinquiſh and deſert the duties of civil ſociety, and abandon themſelves to an effeminate and inglorious repoſe.

In few words, as we have all along endeavoured to prove, to mix in ſociety, to put our talents to the proof, to act in the ſight of our fellow-citizens, is the only foundation of enjoyment, of real and continued felicity. To this temper and habit of mind, we owe whatever is excellent in letters, in arts, and in arms. Had not Socrates frequented, in his daily intercourſe, the ſhops, the workhouſes, the public walks, the places of exerciſe of Athens, ſhould we ever have had the divine writings of Plato and Xenophon? Had Themiſtocles and Ariſtides affected a life of obſcurity and repoſe, perhaps Greece would in their time have become a petty province of that enormous empire, which but thirty thouſand of her citizens were afterwards deſtined to over-run and ſubdue. Or had Epaminondas preferred the gratifications of ſenſe and appetite to the fatigues, the dangers, and hazards of war, would his country been victorious at Leuctra, at Mantinea, and aſpired in her turn to the ſovereignty of Greece?

For

For my own part, whatever may be the opinions of corrupt and effeminate men, I am perfectly convinced, that the ſatisfactions derived from the faithful and ardent diſcharge of our duties and offices as members of a commonwealth, as parents of families, as friends, as fellow-citizens, and the conſequent eſteem and reputation [I], are of an infinitely higher reliſh and more exquiſite nature, than ſuch as ariſe from the gratification of our merely ſelfiſh and ſenſual appetites, of luxury, pageantry, and oſtentation [K]. Indeed, can any one ſeriouſly be ſo ſottiſh as to imagine, that Alcibiades was happier than Ariſtides, or even Lammachus, Demades than Phocion, or the ſlaves of their luſts and vices (whoſe names ſhall not pollute this page) of Rome verging to her decline, than the ſons of her happier or more virtuous age, her Catos, her Scipios, her Æmilius's. Nay, to venture and abaſh with an illuſtrious example of our own times, do you think that any titled votary of pageantry, epicuriſm, and ſelfiſhneſs of the preſent age, is a character to be compared for happineſs, reputation, and enjoyment, with that of a Sir George Saville?

Certainly the deſire of reſpect and conſideration is natural to man. But, perſons of real talents and benevolence will aſpire to them by important ſervices to our nation, by a candid and ſtrenuous oppoſition to an unconſtitutional influence and adminiſtration, to the improvement and revival of the ſpirit of our government

(ever ſubject to corruption or relaxation), by a well-informed attention to the commerce, the manufacture, the agriculture of our country, to the diligent ſtudy of our enormous debt, and to the beſt methods of reducing it, by an enlarged knowledge of our intereſts reſpecting the different ſtates of Europe, and particularly with regard to our colonies of America; in private life, by reverence for religion both in reality and appearance, by temperance and decent expence, by acts of friendſhip, generoſity, humanity. On the other ſide, perſons of an oppoſite deſcription and manners, without talents, or love of mankind, ſordid, groveling, all centered in themſelves, by ſuch a conduct as may recommend them to the favour of the court, or what is now dignified with the appellation *government*, by an indifference to public meaſures, to the proſperity or ſufferings of the ſtate, by a concurrence and participation in the embezzlement of the public revenue in ſinecures, in penſions, in reverſions, and ſuch other low, ſordid and criminal methods; by the magnificence of their buildings, the elegance of their tables, furniture, equipage, the ſcenery of their grounds; in ſhort, by every artifice of vanity, oſtentation and pageantry, by which the wonder, the ſottiſh admiration, the envy and ſervile adulation of the vulgar, corrupt, and undiſcerning, is excited, nouriſhed and prolonged.

Though it ought to be the wiſh and endeavour of every virtuous and elevated mind to think

think even more highly of our nature than perhaps experience allows; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that in another light, enjoyment and happineſs depend not a little on very trifling and inconſiderable cauſes; and circumſtances, on the circulation of our humours, the temperature of the air, on variety, change of ſcene, of ſtudies, of occupations. Thus how different do we feel ourſelves when out of order and in perfect health, in cloudy and in clear weather, and after having paſſed a long winter in the noiſe, hurry and agitation of the capital, in the purſuits of duty, popularity and affairs; how doubly agreeable are the ſtillneſs, the ſerenity, the rural objects, the quiet walks, the uſeful improvements of the country life? What a ſwarm of reflection then pours upon the mind? What exalted, what grateful ideas of the wiſdom, of the benevolence of nature? The pleaſing varieties of the landſcape, the mildneſs and purity of the air, the ſhaded luſtre of ſun-beams, the varied melody of nature, have a kind of mechanical effect on the mind through the body, ſooth every paſſion and emotion into reſt, and melt us into a ſort of pleaſing and deceitful languor. Did not good ſenſe and deeper reflection ſupport us, we ſhould be even inclined to blame our former ardour in the public cauſe, in that of humanity, in the virtuous advancement of our fortunes, reputations, and families. We ſhould be apt to give into the pleaſing error, that the happineſs of a rational being con-

ſiſted in an indolent, inglorious repoſe, a freedom from exertion, care and anxiety. Then, with regard to our ſtudies, how agreeable a diverſity is it, to quit the grave and ſevere page of the hiſtorian, for the ſprightlineſs and poignancy of the comic muſe; ſometimes to wander and loſe ourſelves in the labyrinth of metaphyſics, ſometimes to reſt with a glowing ſatisfaction on the ſurer grounds of morality and duty; now to glow with all the paſſions and emotions of the tragic muſe, to burn with indignation, to melt with pity, to freeze with horror, to extacy with admiration or love; preſently to acquieſce in the beautiful deſcription, the innocent attachments, the unimportant cares, apprehenſions and loſſes of paſtoral life and manners.

At all times, wherever we are, a proper mixture of company and privacy is highly conducive to enjoyment [L]. As Seneca very ſenſibly obſerves, the latter makes us deſirous of expanding ourſelves in ſociety, the former of retiring within ourſelves; the one is a remedy for the other; ſolitude cures our diſlike of the crowd; the crowd, the *ennui* and tedium of ſolitude. Exerciſe alſo and travel, a moderate and temporary indulgence in the pleaſures of the table, give an agreeable emotion to the ſpirits, a ſpring and alacrity to the mind, elude care and anxiety, and carry a wholeſome ferment to the very bottom and receſſes of our ſouls. It is upon ſuch occaſions we give the reins to the pleaſing ſallies of

nature and paſſion. Then burſt forth the generous ſentiment, the expanſions of friendſhip, the admiration of virtue, the deteſtation of vice, the poignancy, the vivacity, the gaiety of wit and good humour. In ſhort enjoyment; happineſs conſiſts in occupation and emotion, in the integrity and variety of our views, purſuits, occupations [M].

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 151.

ILS tiennent l'ame dans une eſpece d'extaſe, &c. Vid. Reflections ſur la Poeſie, vol. i. p. 23.

NOTE [B], p. 152.

THIS is evident from various paſſages in that great man's writings: "Cæſaris amore, quem ad me perſcripſit, unice delector: promiſſis iis quæ oſtendit, non valde pendeo: nec honores ſitio, nec deſidero gloriam; magiſque ejus voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam premiſſorum exitum expecto. *Vivo tamen in ea ambitione & labore, tanquam id, quod non poſtulo, expectem.*" Ad Quint. 3—5.

"Scribebam illa, quæ dixeram πολιτικα; ſpiſſum ſane opus & operoſum. Sed ſi ex ſententia ſucceſſerit, bene erit opera poſita. Sin minus, in illud ipſum mare dejiciemus, quod ſcribentes ſpectamus. *Aggrediemur alia, quoniam quieſcere non poſſumus.*" Ad Quint. 2—14.

—"Dicendi autem me non tam fructus & gloria quam ſtudium ipſum, exercitatioque delectat: quod mihi nulla res eripiet." De Claris Oratoribus, c. vii.

"Ac mihi quidem explicandæ philoſophiæ cauſam attulit gravis caſus civitatis, cum in armis civilibus, nec

tuere meo modo rempublicam nec nihil agere poteram, nec quid, potius, quod quidem me dignum eſſet, agerem, reperiebam." De Divinatione, lib. ii. c. ii.

Note [C], p. 158.

THE feveriſh miſery of a perſon reſigned to the ſuppoſed enjoyments of a life of indolence and ſelfcomplacency, is very elegantly painted by Seneca: "Nam ſi omnem converſationem tollimus & generi humano renunciamus, vivimuſque in nos tantum converſi; ſequitur hanc ſolitudinem, omni ſtudio carentem, inopia rerum agendarum. Incipiemus ædificia alia ponere, alia ſubvertere & mare ſubmovere, & aquas contra difficultates, locorum ducere, & male diſpenſare tempus, quod nobis natura conſumendum dedit." De tranquil. Animi, c. iii. And of ſuch as have no laudable, or ſerious purſuit, "Hominum domos, & theatra, & fora perrantium. Alienis ſe negotiis afferunt, ſemper aliquid agentibus ſimiles. Horum ſi aliquem exeuntem de domo interrogaveris. Quo tu quid cogitas? reſpondebit tibi: Non mehercule ſcio, ſed aliquos videbo, aliquid agam. Sine propoſito vagantur, quærentes negotia, nec quæ deſtinaverunt, agunt, ſed in quæ incurrerunt, &c. &c. deinde domum cum ſupervacua redeuntes laſſitudine jurant neſciſſe ſe ipſos, quare exierint, ubi fuerint, poſtero die erraturi per eadem illa veſtigia, omnis itaque labor aliquo referatur, aliquo reſpiciat." Ib. c. xii.

Et Lucretius,

Exit ſæpe foras magnis ex ædibus ille,
Eſſe domi quem pertæſum 'ſt, ſubitoque reverſit
Quippe foris nihilo melius qui ſentiat eſſe
Currit agens manos ad villam hic præcipitanter

Aux-

Auxilium tectis quaſi ferre ardentibus inſtans
Oſcitat extemplo tetigit cum limina villæ
Aut abit in ſomnum gravis, atque oblivia quærit,
Aut etiam properans urbem petit, atque reviſit.
Lib. iii. v. 1073.

NOTE [D], p. 158.

ET ni
Poſces ante diem librum cum lumine, ſi non
Intendes animum ſtudiis & rebus honeſtis;
Invidia vel amore vigil torquebere.
Horace, Epiſt. lib. i.

The neceſſity of occupation in the ſecond higher ranks of life, is finally touched in Lord Shafteſbury, vol. ii. p. 132.

See alſo what he ſays of the exerciſe that is neceſſary to the mind, p. 160.

NOTE [E], p. 160.

HOW beautifully is this idea illuſtrated in the following charming lines!

Vous trouvez le moyen,
Ayant ſi peu, de faire encore du bien.
Riches & grands, que le monde contempte,
Imitez donc un ſi touchant example.
Nous contentons a grands frais nos deſirs,
Sachons goûter de plus nobles plaiſirs.
Quoi? pour aider l'amitié, la miſère,
Dormine a peu s'oter le neceſſaire,
Et vous n'oſer donner le ſuperflu.
Voltaire. Le Droit du Seigneur.

NOTE

NOTE [F], p. 160.

SEE many noble ſentiments to this purpoſe in Plutarch's treatiſe. "Ne ſuaviter quidem vivi poſſe ſecundum Epicuri decreta."

NOTE [G], p. 160.

"NATURA enim humanus animus agilis eſt & pronus ad motus." Seneca.

NOTE [H], 162.

WHEN Lucullus, one of the greateſt of the Roman captains and ſtateſmen, relinquiſhed the care of public affairs, and gave himſelf up to indolence and ſuppoſed enjoyment, he became ſlothful and ſtupid, and loſt all the vigour and powers of his mind. Even, Æleas, a Scythian king, ſaid, that when he was idle, he thought he differed in nothing from his groom. All our talents depend upon habit and exerciſe. Muſicians, mathematicians, &c. forfeit their excellence in their ſeveral arts, if they diſcontinue for any length of time, and do not conſtantly perſevere in the cultivation of them. Plutarch An Seni ſit gerenda Reſpublica.

NOTE [I], p. 163.

PINDAR ſays, The warm bath, (a great indulgence among the antients) is not ſo agreable to a fatigued body, as the pleaſure of being in eſteem and reputation render labour pleaſant and pain ſupportable to a perſon of laudable ambition. And Xenophon οἱ γαρ πονοι αφεν τοις αγαθοις.

NOTE [K], 163.

THIS idea of happineſs is finely illuſtrated in the beautiful apologue of Prodicus in Xenophon Memorabilia, lib. ii. § Ka. edit. Wills.

NOTE

Note [L], 166.

WHEN not immediately engaged in affairs, or excluded from them by the corruption and malignity of the times, or by other cauſes, we ſhall find languor not a little guarded againſt, and enjoyment favoured by a proper and varied diſtribution of our hours. The Greeks and Romans ſeem to have been juſtly ſenſible of this. Their exerciſes, their baths, their frictions, &c. were as condueive to the health and alacrity of the mind as of the body. There is a very entertaining account in one of Pliny's epiſtles, of the manner in which an aged ſenator retired into the country, guarded againſt diſguſt and liſtleſſneſs, by the regulated variety of his occupations and amuſements. Lib. iii. Epiſ. i.

See alſo (which is ſtill more applicable), the way in which that ſtateſman and philoſopher paſſed and diſtributed his own time when at his villa. Lib. ix. Epiſt. xxxvi. The ſame ſtate of manners is frequently alluded to in Tacitus; *vide* his account of the laſt ſcene of Petronius, and of ſeveral others.

Note [M], 167.

THE following paſſage is ſo beautiful in itſelf, and gives ſuch a ſanction to the ſentiments of this eſſay, that I cannot help tranſcribing it.

" If we ſhall caſt an eye on the *tempeſts* which ſhall " ariſe within our breaſts, and conſider the cauſes and " remedies of all the violent deſires, malicious envies, " intemperate joys, and irregular griefs, by which the " lives of moſt men become miſerable or guilty; we " ſhall find that they are chiefly produced by idleneſs, " and may be moſt naturally cured by diverſion. " Whatever art ſhall be able to buſy the minds of men " with a conſtant courſe of innocent works, or to fill

" them

" them with as vigorous and pleaſant images, as thoſe " ill impreſſions by which they are deluded, it will " certainly have a ſurer effect in the compoſing and pu- " rifying their thoughts, than all the rigid precepts of " the ſtoical, or the empty diſtinctions of the peripate- " tic moraliſts." Biſhop Spratt's hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 342, 343.

VI.

Whether the Multiplicity of Books and Increaſe of Knowledge, be favourable to Piety and Love of Public Good.

THE ideas, and conſequently the knowledge of mankind, in their ſavage or barbarous ſtate, are very narrow and confined. Their attention ſeems to be wholly or chiefly employed in procuring the means of ſubſiſtence, in guarding and defending themſelves againſt the inclemencies of the ſeaſons, a public enemy, or the hunger, famine, and rage of beaſts of attack and of prey. This latter feature of their deſcription and manners, depends on the ſoil and climate they inhabit. We learn from modern travellers, that the vices of this ſtate of our ſpecies are, the profoundeſt diſſimulation, implacable revenge, unrelenting cruelty, exceſs in indolence, and in food, when plenty permits the indulgence and debauch. Their virtues form a ſtriking and beautiful contraſt; an enthuſiaſtic devotion to their tribe or community, intrepidity, perſeverance in hardſhip,

in

in danger, and in enterpriſe, the tendereſt, the ſofteſt attachment to their parents, kinſmen, and families. When neceſſity demands it, when rouſed by the apprehenſion of famine, or danger, or even the mere paſſion of reſtleſſneſs, animoſity and ſlaughter, they ſeem as much ſuperior to the ſeductions of ſloth and of appetite, as they appeared before to be enſlaved and degraded by thoſe baſe and animal propenſities. Having very imperfect notions of property or ſubordination, they value each other upon account of their perſonal qualities and virtues alone; and the crimes and meanneſſes of injuſtice, extortion, arrogance, fraud, cozenage, are contemned or unknown among them.

With regard to religion, and Deity, their ſentiments are crude and irrational. Being unacquainted with the general laws of Nature, by which the univerſe is adminiſtered, their piety is the offspring of ignorance, fear, and terror; and hence they attribute every unuſual and extraordinary appearance in nature, an eclipſe, an hurricane, a famine, a peſtilence, an inundation, an earthquake, to the operation and malice of ſome ſuperior being. The ſame cauſes make them alſo ſubject to groundleſs and panic terrors, and to be influenced in their moſt important concerns and deliberations by ſigns, by omens, by lucky and unlucky days, and the long catalogue of abſurdities and follies of reaſon in her infancy and weakneſs.

Such

Such is the picture of our ſpecies, in their ſavage and barbarous ſtate. The eſtabliſhment of property, and the riſe and progreſs of the arts, exhibit a new and leſs humiliating ſcene. While a moderate and equitable diſtribution of the former obtains, while the latter have not degenerated from decent convenience to an enervating refinement, man ſeems to be placed in a ſituation, and in circumſtances the moſt favourable to virtue and to happineſs. His exertions are no longer, like flaſhes of lightning, caſual and momentary, but gradual, progreſſive, directed to ſome remote and determinate end; he has acquired habits of uninterrupted induſtry and activity, and prefers a ſubſiſtence acquired by the ſweat of his brow, or ingenuity of his mind, to the agitations and ſpoils of rapine and plunder, or the quarry of the foreſt or the lake. His care of his peculiar property does not ſuperſede his attention to public affairs; a diſtinction of ranks is eſtabliſhed whoſe foundation is not intirely birth and fortune, but the qualities, affections, and virtues of the mind, and of the heart. Leſs unworthy notions of Deity are attained, a future retribution is diſcovered, the correction and puniſhment of the injuries, exceſſes, and crimes of individuals, are taken out of private hands, and intruſted to thoſe of the magiſtrate; vice and immorality are reſtrained by the fear of cenſure and of ſhame, exceſs in the gratifications of appetite ſubſides into moderation, and even a ſort of wholeſome abſtinence in the uſe and enjoyment of the various kinds of food.

But as vigorous manhood, the ſeaſon of the excellence of the individual, ſoon reaches its period, ſo this pleaſing and happy form of ſociety is not of laſting continuance. Owing to various cauſes; indolence, extravagance, avarice, alliance, ambition; property holds not very long this equal courſe, but gradually rolls on to deviate and center in the few, inriches particular and partial ſpots, at the expence of the fertility of provinces; the arts proceed from utility to refinement, the rich become arrogant, the poor abject, the adminiſtration of affairs is aſſumed and uſurped by birth and fortune, unſupported by induſtry, merit, and talents; the attention of the great body of the people is narrowed and ſubjected to the care of private property. Superfluity, the mere neceſſary of life, and ſordid want, appear then to be the three great diſtinctions into which mankind are ſunk and degraded.

After this haſty review of our ſpecies, let us return a little on our ſteps. As men are impelled to expreſs their feelings and emotions, long before they think of analyſing their ſentiments, or of forming ſyſtems of ſcience from a collection of facts and experiments, we find the Legendary Tale, and the Song of the Warrior or Bard, the earlieſt ſpecies of compoſition: They are come down to us conceived in an high degree of perfection, from the firſt dawnings of civilization. Their ſubjects are the earlieſt and ſtrongeſt feelings and impreſſions of the human mind. Love in all its viciſſitudes of hope and fear, confidence, deſpon-

deſpondency; war, with all its emotions of attachment to a community or tribe, oppoſition and reſentment to neighbouring and rival ſtates, the exultations and triumph of ſucceſs, the deſpair of defeat, the commemoration of actions, of valour, of magnanimity, of the gratifications of revenge, of contempt of the enemy. Then in the progreſs of letters and civility, comes the majeſty of the Epic poem; the regulated ſublimity, terror, love, pity, humour, and character of the various ſpecies of the drama. Agreeably to this obſervation, we find that in all the nations of Europe, the poets we read with ſo much pleaſure and ſentiment, preceded thoſe writers who continued to inſtruct us in morals, philoſophy, and hiſtory. The latter ſciences are not cultivated with ſucceſs, till ſociety has reached its higheſt degree of refinement, and is in a manner verging to its decline. It is then perſons of inquiſitive and ardent minds, being excluded by various cauſes from the conduct of public affairs, aſpire to conſideration and eminence, by contributing to the inſtruction and entertainment of the idle, the opulent, and the luxurious. Then books are multiplied, knowledge diffuſed, ſociety informed and enlightened. The true ſyſtem of the univerſe is unveiled, the various forms of government, and theories of religion are inveſtigated, the manners, cuſtoms, opinions of diſtant countries are recorded, the inexhauſtible ſources of natural hiſtory and medicine are explored, the laws of war and of nations are collected and methodiſed, the practice of vir-

tue is recommended, from motives of duty and intereſt; actions of public ſpirit, of diſintereſtedneſs, of valour, of magnanimity, of conſtancy, of generoſity, of humanity, are recommended to our imitation, with all the colours of ſentiment and eloquence. But what is the fruit of their noble exertions of genius and knowledge? We are taught to adore the Deity in his adminiſtration of the world by general laws; but we alſo read with horror, the relation of the dreadful conſequences of earthquakes, of fiery eruptions, of plagues, of famines, of the various waſting, excruciating, mortal diſeaſes of the human body. We often behold man expoſed to the blind fury of all the elements, of air, of water, of fire; burned, ſuffocated, frozen; in one zone torpid through want of feeling, in another, weak, precipitate, ſenſual through exceſs of ſenſibility: only in the temperate zone moderate and rational, almoſt every where enſlaved to tyrants, to ſenſualiſts, lunatics, to a ſort of wild beaſts in human ſhape; their tranquillity, their enjoyments, their property, their liberty, their lives ſacrificed to the gratifications of the ignorance, the luſt, the malice, the revenge, the *ennui*, the peſtilent ambition of fools or villains; and hence to compleat the tendency of knowledge *, ſeveral in the delirium of vanity, and of a blaſphemous philoſophy, have had the impiety to infer that the ſpecies only, not the individual, was an object of care and attention to providence.

* Bolingbroke, Buffon, and others.

Let

Let us now take a more particular view of the conſequences of the information we derive from hiſtory, with regard to the progreſs of letters, government, religion.

Before all the ſubjects of ſcience and literature have been in a manner exhauſted, and every poſt of honour occupied in the republic of letters, authors are ſatisfied with the reputation derived from the diſcovery and illuſtration of uſeful and almoſt obvious truths. But after good ſenſe, penetration, and eloquence have inveſtigated and adorned every ſubject deſerving of general attention, thoſe who aſpire to the praiſe of invention, genius, and ſuperior diſcernment, meet and encounter every where with inſuperable obſtacles and impediments to their pretenſions and wiſhes. The natural and ſublime in poetry, the juſt and rational in morals and phyſics, the ſimple and true in hiſtory and in literature, have been already anticipated. How difficult is it to enter the liſts, with thoſe of eſtabliſhed fame, in the various paths of ſcience? Hence the neceſſity of recurring to novelty, either in invention or expreſſion. Thus we find in Greece, that when every thing rational and true in morals and theology, had been diſcovered by Socrates or his precurſors, embelliſhed by Xenophon, extended by Plato, the moſt abſurd, extravagant, and impious theories, were ſtruck out by the Diogenes's, the Pyrrho's, the Protagoras's, the Epicurus's [A]. The ſame has happened in modern Italy, rages at preſent to a degree bordering on frenzy, in France, and in our own country;

we know that the divine writings of Mr Locke and his ſchool, preceded thoſe of Lord Bolingbroke and his adherents. From the ſame cauſes, the fine and natural writers of every country are ſucceeded by the votaries of falſe taſte and of paradox. Thus even the ſublime and eloquent Tacitus, the Plinys, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, deſpairing of reaching, or rather ambitious of excelling the ſimple and noble ſtyle of writing, which we dwell on with ſo great complacency and delight in Cicero, in Livy, in Virgil, in Horace, in Catullus, in order to give the charm of novelty, think it neceſſary to ſtrike out a new vein in compoſition, in which a ſtudied brevity and quaintneſs of expreſſion, or a falſe brilliancy of thought, are adopted, inſtead of the ſimple, the beautiful, and the juſt in language and in ſentiment. Hence alſo, when the utility of ſcience to a certain degree has been demonſtrated and acknowledged by the beſt writers, or a faithful and impartial hiſtory given us of any particular country, new ſyſtems in philoſophy, literature, and hiſtory, are formed and obtruded on the public, knowledge defamed, morality ſapped and undermined, the beſt atteſted and moſt uſeful facts of antient hiſtory queſtioned, or ridiculed. Novelty muſt be offered, how pernicious ſoever the conſequence, and man muſt be perſuaded, that groſs ignorance is preferable to uſeful and limited knowledge, the ſavage to the civilized ſtate, the love of pleaſure to the love of virtue, and that the rights of nations are not original and unalienable, but the ſeditious acquiſitions

ſitions of artifice or force. Hence alſo, owing to the multiplicity of preſſes and books, and the rage of reading, the well meant and generous endeavours; nay, the reaſoning, the profound diſcernment, the imagination, the eloquence, the narrative and character of the La Bruyeres, the Nicoles, the Wollaſtons, the Clarkes, the Richardſons, the Marivauxs, are overwhelmed, and rendered vain and fruitleſs by the impious theories, by the obſcene romances, the diſſolute, unprincipled, and abandoned writings of the age. Thus books are fatally multiplied, thus our moral ideas are unſettled and corrupted, our taſte vitiated, an art which under the conduct of the generous and the virtuous, was nobly inſtrumental in adorning and exalting our nature, perverted in the hands of the needy, the vain, and the ſenſual, to corrupt, debaſe, and enſlave it.

With regard to government, when perſons of obſervation, of diſcernment, peruſe the ſtory of nations, through the different periods of barbarity, civilization, refinement, what are the reflections, what the concluſions ſuggeſted to them? That there is a natural and gradual progreſs in human affairs, neither to be accelerated or retarded by their feeble and ineffectual endeavours, [B]. That it is only ignorance, poverty, impotence, that preſerve nations, princes, even individuals, moderate, equitable, virtuous. That liberty, private and public virtue, are the portion of thoſe ſtates alone, in which property is divided in ſome meaſure agreeably to reaſon and juſtice;

in which the arts of luxury and refinement have made but little progreſs, not gained an aſcendant; that whenever this change in the condition and manners of a people begins to prevail, it is impoſſible to reſiſt the torrent of ſelfiſhneſs, venality, ſenſuality, corruption. Demoſthenes wields the thunder of his eloquence in vain; it charms the ears of a poliſhed people, but makes no impreſſion on their venal ſouls. The reward of Cicero's generous efforts in the cauſe of his country and of mankind, is a deſolated and mangled body, is murdered in cold blood by the hands of an aſſaſſin, who owed his life to the humanity and eloquence of that illuſtrious character. Cato, Brutus, Caſſius, all the beſt and nobleſt minds of Rome, are driven to relinquiſh the world in ſuicide and agony, that a Julius Cæſar, an Anthony, an Octavius, the public robbers, the murderers, the plagues of their age, may ſatiate in torture, and in rivers of blood [C]. Modern ſtory is but a melancholy repetition of the ſame ſcene, equally diſcouraging to virtue and to patriotiſm. Every prince, every miniſter, aiming at abſolute and uncontrolled dominion. All oppoſition to authority, however weak or wicked, branded with the name of faction or diſcontent [D]. The noble and generous oppoſition to oppreſſion and ſanguinary violence, in all the once free countries of Europe, in the various ſtates of Italy, in Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, in our own England, attributed to mercenary and diſappointed ambition. Such were the baſe and ignoble

ignoble motives with which were diſparaged the generous and illuſtrious names of the Egmonts [E], the Horns, the Brouſſels [F], the Elliots, the Pyms, the Cokes, &c. Every kind of emolument and emblem of reſpect, all places of honour, truſt, and dignity, laviſhed and proſtituted on abettors, favourers, ſupporters of illegal and arbitrary meaſures; the oppoſers of ſuch peſtilent and wicked deſigns expoſed to confiſcations, to torture, to baniſhment, to death. Can ſuch ſort of knowledge afforded by hiſtory contribute greatly to the love of virtue, and of public good? Does it not ſeem to inculcate a very oppoſite conduct? Does it not ſeem to adviſe, to endeavour, to give into the general maxims, to ſwim with the ſtream, to acquieſce in the enjoyments of life, and of office, rather than be ſingularly uncorrupt and obſcure? Does it not ſeem to infer, that oppoſition to illegal and unconſtitutional meaſures can be hazarded, as was hinted above, with hopes of ſucceſs, only when the generality of the people are incorrupt, their deſires moderate, their fortunes nearly equal; not when a partial influence has already, though imperceptibly, exceeded all ſalutary bounds, not when it has more to beſtow than there is merit to receive, not when all ranks and conditions appear to have nothing in view but the gratifications of ſenſe, appetite, oſtentation. In ſuch a ſcene of corruption, of hopeleſs ſervility and debaſement, who will have virtue or courage to be ſingularly good? Who will ſincerely unite with him in the glorious ſtruggle?

Shall

Shall you then wanton in affluence, reſpect, conſideration, while I am doomed to poverty, inſignificance, contempt? Are ſuch the rewards of flattery, proſtitution, ignorance, venality; ſuch of ſincerity, integrity, knowledge? The trial, the event is too ſevere, I muſt live upon a footing with my equals, or I muſt not live at all [G].

If from conſidering government, we proceed to examine the various ſyſtems of religious belief, that have imbruted and deſolated, or ſtill continue to imbrute and deſolate the world, the abſurd, the partial, the odious repreſentations they give of the Divinity, the horrid practices they authoriſe and ſanctify, the pernicious diſtinctions, the abominable ſacrifices, the monſtrous pollutions, the perſecutions, the exceſſes of every ſpecies of religion, except the Chriſtian as revealed in Scripture, what are the reflections, what the inferences that preſent and obtrude themſelves on an unguarded and ſuperficial obſerver! Is it that the Author of nature is concerned in our ideas of his nature and attributes, or that we are abandoned in this reſpect to chance and caprice; one while to be neceſſarily miſled by the circumſtances of our ſituation, another to be deluded and impoſed upon by artifice, and the luſt of avarice and power; how ſeldom to think rationally and worthily of the firſt and great cauſe of all things?

I tremble to puſh this reaſoning farther. It is overwhelming, pernicious, falſe. I would only infer, that perhaps very extenſive knowledge, and the multiplicity of books and readers, are not

ſo

ſo favourable to piety, virtue, and the love of our country, as is generally imagined. They often ſeem to arraign the goodneſs and juſtice of Nature, they often ſeem to queſtion a particular providence; in times of refinement and corruption (the zenith of their influence and power), they raiſe and quicken the ferment of the worſt affections and paſſions of the mind, and ſeem particularly to recommend to perſons of birth and pretenſions, a life of voluptuouſneſs, and concurrence and acquieſcence in the principles and deſigns of a court. The only barrier againſt this fatal tendency of literature, and of the paſſion for reading, is a ſcrupulous choice and ſelection of authors, ſuch as excite us to reverence of God, and love of mankind, that glow with the admiration of virtue, the deteſtation of vice; that repreſent our ſituation here as a palæſtra, or place of exerciſe, for the beſt affections of the mind and of the heart, that ſtrengthen the hinge of all virtue and happineſs, the belief of a future retribution; that perſuade us the only view of all our actions ought to be ſelf-approbation, the eſteem of our fellow-citizens and of mankind, the acceptance of the Deity.

NOTES.

Note [A], p. 181.

"LES premiers philoſophes ſe firent une grande reputation in enſeignant aux hommes la pratique de leurs devoirs, et les principes de la vertu. Mais bientot ces préceptes, etant devenus communs, il faut ſe diſtinguer en frayant des routes contraires. Telle eſt l'origine des ſyſtemes abſurdes, &c." Preface au Narciſſe.

Note [B], p. 183.

THE great politician of modern times ſeems to be of a different opinion, and with reaſon. His ſentiments on a ſimilar ſubject are ſo enlarged, and ſo happily illuſtrated by his eloquence, that probably the reader may not be diſpleaſed to recollect them; "Non mi e incognito come molti hanno avuto e hanno opinione che le coſe del mondo ſieno in modo governate dalla fortuna e da Di, che gli uomini con la prudenza, coro non poſſino correggerle, anzi non via bbino rimedió alcuno; e per queſto potrebbono guidicare che nonfuſſe da inſudare molto nelle coſe ma laſciarſi governare dalla ſorte. Sono in qualche parte inchinato nelle opinion loro. Nondemanco perche il noſtro libero arbitrio non ſia ſpento, giudico potere eſſe vero che la fortuna ſia arbitra della metà delle azzioni noſtre, ma che ancora ella

ne

ne Caſci governare l'altra meta, O poco meno, a noi." He then illuſtrates this ſentiment by a beautiful ſimile of a river, which, though it ſometimes overflows its banks, and lays every thing waſte before it, no one daring to oppoſe its furious impetuoſity, yet in its ſeaſons of peace and tranquillity, its future havock may be guarded againſt by proper precautions, by banks, dikes, &c. Such alſo is the progreſs of fortune, when human prudence does not foreſee and guard againſt its exceſſes. Machiavelli H. Principe, c. xxv.

Note [C], p. 184.

SEE a reflection to the ſame purpoſe on the unmerited fate of Demoſthenes in Pauſanias, lib. i. c. viii. p. 20. Edit. Kuhnii, 1696.

Note [D], p. 184.

PATERCULUS, that proſtitute ſycophant of Tiberius, has the impudence to ſay, "Idibus Martiis conjurationis auctoribus, Bruto et Caſſio, quorum alterum promittendo conſulatum non obligaverat, contra differendo Caſſium offenderat." Lib. ii. c. xvi.

Note [E], p. 185.

"GUILLIAUME de Naſſau, Prince d' Orange, et le Comte d' Egmont, mecontens de ſe voir ſans autorite, attiſoient les premiers feux de la revolte Henault ſub anno 1565." Nothing but the prejudices of education, and erroneous notions of the nature and end of government, and of the mutual duties of princes and citizens, could make the amiable Preſident Henault attribute to ſuch ſordid views the oppoſition of theſe virtuous perſons, to the oppreſſions of an execrable villain and tyrant.

NOTE [F], p. 185.

THE French are ſo ignorant of the duty of a good citizen, that all their writers repreſent this magiſtrate, as a weak and undiſcerning man. But why? Only becauſe he oppoſed the illegal meaſures of the court, united with thoſe who pretended to the ſame views (whatever were their real motives), and preferred the diſcharge of his duty, and a frugal manner of life, to court-favour and emolument. Let any one read the account of his table, lodgings, and attendants (worthy of the frugality of antient times), when the officers were ſent to ſeize his perſon, and then judge of his motives, manners, underſtanding, and integrity. Vid. de Retz et Voltaire.

The reaſon of this perverſeneſs and injuſtice to illuſtrious merit and virtue, is well accounted for by the judicious Charron. "Apporter de mauvais et ſiniſtres interpretations aux belles actions d'autrui, et les attribuer a des viles et vaines ou vicieuſes cauſes ou occaſions; comme ceux qui rapportent la mort du jeune Cato a la crainte qu'il avoit de Ceſar, dont ſe pique Plutarque, les autres encores plus ſottement à l'ambition. C'eſt une grande maladie de jugement, qui vient ou de malice et corruption de volunté, et de mœurs, ou d'envie contre ceux, qui valeut mieux qu'eux, ou de ce vice de ramener ſa creance a ſa portée et meſurer autruy à ſon pied, ou bien pluſtot que tout cela, la foibleſſe pour n' avoir pas la veuë aſſez forte et aſſeurée a concevoir la ſplendeur de la vertu en ſa purete naiſe. Il y en a qui ſont les ingenieux et ſubtils à depraver ainſi et obſcurer la gloire des belles actions, en quoy ils monſtrent beaucoup plus de mauvais naturel que de ſuffiſance, c'eſt choſe ayſée, mais fort vilaine. Livre. i. c. vi. § 13. Edit. Bourd.

NOTE

NOTE [G], p. 186.

HENCE it is juſtly obſerved by Demoſthenes in his third Philippic, "That at certain periods, the intereſts of a ſtate are given up, not corruptly or ignorantly, but from a deſperate purpoſe of yielding to the fall of a conſtitution, thought to be irrecoverably loſt."—Were theſe the ſentiments of the late Lord Bathurſt, in a letter to Mr. Pope on the ſtate of our own country? "I am convinced that our conſtitution is already gone, "and we are idly ſtruggling to maintain, what in truth "has been long loſt; like ſome fools here (at Bath) "with gout and palſies at fourſcore years old, drinking "the waters in hopes of health again.—In ſhort, the "whole nation is ſo abandoned and corrupted, that "the crown can never fail of a majority in both houſes "of parliament; he makes them all in one houſe, and "he chuſes above half in the other. Four-and-twenty "biſhops, and ſixteen Scots peers, is a terrible weight "in one. Forty-five from one country, beſides the "weſt of England, and all the government boroughs, is "a dreadful number in the other. Were his Majeſty "inclined to-morrow, to declare his body-coachman his "firſt miniſter, it would do juſt as well, and the "wheels of government would move as eaſily, as they "do with the ſagacious driver, who now ſits on the "box. Parts and abilities are not in the leaſt wanting "to conduct affairs, the coachman knows how to feed "his cattle, and the other feeds the beaſts in his ſervice, and this is all the ſkill that is neceſſary in either "caſe. Are not theſe ſufficient difficulties and diſcouragements, if there were no others, and would any "man ſtruggle againſt corruption, when he knows, "that if he is ever near defeating it, thoſe who make uſe "of it only double the doſe, and carry all their points "farther, and with a higher hand, than perhaps they at "firſt intended."

VII.

Of the LOVE of GLORY and of our COUNTRY.

Credo enim vos, homines nobiles, magna quædam ſpectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis credulii ſuſpicantur, quæ ſemper ab ampliſſimoque clariſſimoque contempta eſt; non opes violentas, & populo Romano minimé ferendam potentiam; ſed caritatem civium, & gloriam concupiſſe. Ea autem eſt gloria, laus rectè factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujuſque tum etiam multitudinis teſtimonio comprobatur.

Philip. i. c. 12.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN after having been borne on the tide of emotion and ſentiment, in reading the hiſtories of the illuſtrious commonwealths of Greece and Rome; when after having ſeen colonies ſettled, innumerable armies of mighty deſpots repulſed with ſhame and terror by an handful of freemen; when after beholding the aſcendant of liberty over both regal and oligarchical tyranny, nations conquered, kings led captive, and the

riches of the whole world acquired by the wiſdom and valour of a ſingle city; when after having revolved with a mixture of enthuſiaſm and admiration, almoſt innumerable inſtances of moderation, of diſintereſtedneſs, of piety, of frugality, of ardour for glory, of love of public good, one deſcends to the genealogies [A], the pretenſions, the tedious negotiations, the inſignificant, yet ruinous foreign wars, the diſgraceful and ſenſeleſs civil ones (generally in ſupport of worthleſs pretenders to a throne, not in the acquiſition or recovery of a conſtitution), the baſeneſs, the ſelfiſhneſs, the corruption of modern annals; the contraſt is ſo ſtriking and humiliating, that one cannot help inclining to conſider antient hiſtory as a beautiful romance, compoſed by ſome fine genius to do honour to human nature, exalt our minds, and improve our hearts; or that the views, principles and manners of mankind, in thoſe remote ages of the world, were of a very different and oppoſite caſt from thoſe of ſucceeding and more modern times. Yet, that ſuch a ſeries of actions did once dignify this ſcene, that ſuch views, ſentiments, manners, did once ennoble our ſpecies, we cannot entertain the leaſt doubt. Their credit is built upon the moſt authentic monuments, many of them are recorded and adorned by the actors themſelves, by thoſe who bore a diſtinguiſhed part in them, and the main and general tenour of Grecian and Roman ſtory is as conſiſtent and well founded, as that of any of the preſent nations of Europe. Whence, then, this

aſtoniſhing and almoſt incredible difference? Whence happens it, that the ſtrain of ancient hiſtory and the characters of its actors, appear ſo widely different and ſo much exalted above the ſtrain and actors of more modern tranſactions, in every circumſtance that can juſtly raiſe one ſeries of actions and one character above another? From a very ſimple cauſe, the nature of government, and the ſentiments and manners inculcated by it.

The influence of government on the human mind, is even greater and more extenſive than that of ſoil and climate. It can correct the vices of both, and rouſe to exertions of induſtry, genius, valour, and magnanimity, the natives of the barren rock, the ſnowy mountain, or the unwholeſome marſh. Witneſs the ſoil of Attica in the times of Greece, of Holland and Switzerland, in our own. Very few examples and reflections ſeem neceſſary to prove this aſſertion.

As men ſubmit to government for their own convenience and benefit, not of the few individuals whom they are pleaſed to intruſt and dignify with the adminiſtration of their affairs, and ſolely to ſecure their lives, properties, and rights, and to exerciſe thoſe talents, and to practiſe thoſe virtues without impediment, on which depend their happineſs and merit, as beings endowed with ſentiment and underſtanding, they will conſequently be moſt attached to thoſe forms of civil policy, and give the moſt illuſtrious inſtances of their veneration for them, in thoſe countries where theſe great ends and purpoſes are beſt attained and ſe-

cured. Where deſpotiſm prevails, none of theſe purpoſes can be ſaid to be attained, and all of them in a very inferiour and limited degree in the various modes of regal government. In the firſt, men have no ſecurity for them but a ſort of cuſtom, and the will of the prince and his ſubſtitutes. In the other, the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of them ſeem greatly to depend on the character of the ſovereign, his ambition, or love of peace, his profuſion, or laudable expence, his diſcernment and humanity. Can we then expect inſtances of patriotiſm [B], where the properties and enjoyments of the generality are at the diſpoſal, and depend on the caprice, the ignorance, folly, or wickedneſs, of one or a few? Of intrepidity and valour, when men fight for tyrants and oppreſſors, not for their lands, their rights, the preſent and future happineſs of themſelves and their poſterity? Of talents and virtue, when proſtitution, incapacity, venality, are the beſt pretenſions to favour and emolument? Of diſintereſtedneſs, moderation, integrity, frugality, when wealth, however acquired, however expended, is the only foundation of reſpect, influence, conſideration? Hence, indeed, the true cauſe of the unfrequency of virtue, talents, love of glory and of our country, in the leſs equal governments of antient or modern times. Under theſe barbarous and irrational forms and inſtitutions of civil government; under theſe depreſſing and debaſing circumſtances, the human character appears to have relinquiſhed, and abandoned all it's native honours; no ambition

worthily

worthily to excel, no contempt of hardſhips, of pain, and of death itſelf, when placed in competition with duty or with fame; no ardent and glowing attachment to a beloved community; no indignant ſuperiority, or generous indifference to the refinements of ſuperfluity; no true ſenſe of honour and of character. In this forlorn and abject condition, man ſeems nearly debaſed to the level of animal nature, he appears to have loſt all ſenſe of dignity of character, his gratifications are ſolely ſenſual, he has no idea, no comprehenſion of pleaſures and enjoyments, derived from a purer and nobler ſource.

In how ſuperior a light does he riſe to our view under conſtitutions more favourable to the expanſion, developement and exerciſe of his virtues and talents? Where the ſoil, the laws, the government, are in a manner his own? Where his conſideration depends on himſelf alone, where obſcurity is the penalty and infliction of nature, not of the forms of the ſociety? To what other cauſe but this difference of government, do we read of no Themiſtocles's, no Thraſybulus's, no Phocions, in the contemporary monarchies of Aſia; no Valerius's, no Scipios, no Catos, in the regal annals of modern Europe?

To recal to our memories this honourable condition of ſociety, to ſhew the perfection of which our nature is capable, to revive the languid and expiring deſires of a reputation founded on the exerciſe of thoſe virtues, principles, and talents, that moſt raiſe and ennoble our ſpecies, perhaps

our pains may not be miſapplied, if in this ſeaſon of retreat and of leiſure, we endeavour to recollect ſome of thoſe examples and inſtances, that render the annals of antiquity ſo beneficial and intereſting to ſenſible and undepraved minds. Thoſe to whom, notwithſtanding their certainty, they may appear wild or romantic, may reconcile themſelves to their ſordid views and purſuits, by having recourſe to the page of later tranſactions, and to ſuch writers as exerciſe a pernicious ingenuity in depreſſing and degrading the ſpirit and genius of mankind.

In all popular forms of government, the love of the public good is conſidered as the firſt conſtituent of merit. This paſſion is even ſtronger and mightier than the feelings of nature. When the intereſt of the community is concerned, the preſervation of the laws, the ſafety, the proſperity, the glory of the commonwealth, danger, or death, is even courted with enthuſiaſm; the father commands and views the execution of his own children, of the ſole hopes of the continuance of his race, without ſhedding a tear, with unchanged countenance; the mother ſmiles with ſatisfaction, on hearing her ſons have fallen with honour in the fields of battle.

For a conſiderable length of time, Virtue, that beautiful prerogative of popular government, was the ruling and pervading principle of the Athenian democracy. It equally influenced the conduct of the public, and the ſentiments of individuals. Let us proceed to inſtances.

We

We learn from Herodotus *, that even while the Athenians were ſubjected to kings or tyrants, they were a conſiderable people; but no ſooner had they expelled them, and aſſerted and recovered their liberties, than they far ſurpaſſed all their neighbours, and became the principal nation in Greece. The reaſon he aſſigns for this change in their ſituation, is very juſt and natural; for (he continues) "that the equal diſtribution of power is matter of the greateſt moment, is evident, not from one but from innumerable examples. And with regard to the people of Athens, while they ſuffered under oppreſſion, they acted remiſsly, and would not exert themſelves to the utmoſt, being too ſenſible that their ſucceſs and victories would redound only to the advantage of their tyrants, ſerve to inflame their paſſions, vices, and exceſſes, and aggravate their own diſtreſſes, calamities, and miſeries. On the contrary, after the reſtoration of their conſtitution, there was a perpetual rivalſhip and emulation among them, who ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh himſelf by important ſervices to his country, for then they fought and acted for themſelves, their laws, their wives, their children. And hence, undoubtedly, the cauſe and reaſon of their aſtoniſhing ſucceſs againſt the innumerable armies of Aſia, in their different attempts againſt their independence and power.

"The firſt invaſion of Greece by Darius, was owing to various cauſes; to the parties into which

* Lib. v. 66. 74. Edit. Glaſgow.

the Athenians were divided, the advantage made of this by Piſiſtratus, by which he uſurped the ſupreme power, his expulſion, the recovery of his authority, the abdication of his ſon Hippias, through Cliſtenes's noble endeavours, the application of the tyrant to the protection of Darius. Such were the remote cauſes of that inglorious expedition. The more immediate ones were, the ſuggeſtions of Hippias to the ſovereign of Aſia, the diſſatisfaction of Hiſtiæus, who preferred reigning in Miletus to only adviſing in the court of Darius; the aſſertion of their liberties and independence by the Greek cities of Ionia, aſſiſted by the Athenians, who after having enjoyed them upwards of five hundred years, were firſt deprived of them by Crœſus, and rendered tributaries and hereditary ſervants of Cyrus; and laſtly, the accidental burning of Sardis. Theſe united reaſons, with the common infirmity of princes, that of wiſhing to extend their dominions, how unequal ſoever to the juſt adminiſtration of their preſent provinces, inſtigated Darius to attempt the conqueſt of the little republics of Greece with a numerous and mighty army. When one conſiders the ſmall body of troops which the Greeks had to oppoſe againſt ſo great a multitude, the event is almoſt incredible. It can be attributed to nothing but to the different form of government, and military diſcipline of the two people. The one fought for their laws, their native ſoil, their wives, their children; the other, only to gratify the inſatiable ambition of a haughty maſter; for

the temptations of plunder were trifling and inconſiderable, and the Greeks were enured from their infancy to labour and gymnaſtick exerciſe; the Perſians were brought up in indolence, effeminacy and ſloth." Yet ſo formidable had the power of Aſia appeared always before to all Greece, that Herodotus ſeems in a ſort of ſurpriſe at the intrepidity of the Athenians; for, in relating the battle of Marathon, he ſays, the Athenians engaging with the Barbarians, behaved in a manner forever to be remembered †: for they are the firſt of all the Greeks we know of, who began the attack with running on the enemy, and the firſt that dared to look without fear on the Median habit, and thoſe who wore it; for till then the very name of the Medes was a terror to the Greeks. However, from another paſſage of the ſame hiſtorian, it ſhould ſeem that this apprehenſion was very ill founded; for among other arguments alleged by Ariſtagoras, to induce the Spartans and Cleomenes their king, to reſcue the Ionians from ſervitude, he ſays, "the attempt will not be difficult, for neither are the Barbarians brave men, and you by your valour have attained the higheſt degree of military fame; and as to their manner of fighting, it is with a bow and ſhort arrow, or javelin, and they come into the field in long gowns, with turbans or tiaras on their heads, which make it very eaſy to ſeize them ‡."

† Lib. vi. 12. ‡ Ibid. 49.

Such

Such was the gallant intrepidity of the Athenians on this memorable occaſion, that they diſdained to wait for the Medes behind their walls, but marched out to give them battle in the open country, only ten thouſand Athenians, with one thouſand Platæans, againſt an hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe of the enemy. And ſo great was the reſolution and ardour of this illuſtrious band, in compariſon with ſuch unequal numbers, that they not only defeated, but purſued them to the ſea, and even fired their fleet. One inſtance among others, will enable us to judge of their juſt contempt and abhorrence of the undertaking againſt them. In the purſuit of the Perſians to their fleet, which was attended with great ſlaughter, Cynegyrus, the ſon of Eupherion, as ſoon as he reached the ſhore, in a kind of enthuſiaſm of valour, ſeized with his right hand the prow of one of the Perſian veſſels in order to detain it. His arm being ſtruck off with an hatchet, he ſeized it again with the other, which loſing in the ſame manner, ſtill undaunted and unſubdued, he took hold of it even with his teeth. In this battle, there fell between ſix and ſeven thouſand of the Perſians, and of the Athenians only one hundred and ninety-two. Seven ſhips of the enemy were alſo taken.

This inglorious and ſhameful defeat of ſo formidable an army by one ſo inferior to it in numbers, would naturally be a very ſevere and mortifying blow to the pride and expectations of Darius; for confident of meeting no obſtacle to

the gratification of his reſentment, he had given it in charge to his generals Dates and Artaphernes, to deſtroy and demoliſh Eretria and Athens, and to bring all the priſoners to him. The account, therefore, of an iſſue ſo different from his expectations was a moſt ſevere mortification. However, it ſerved rather to exaſperate than diſcourage him from purſuing the ſame views. Still truſting in numbers and the oſtentation of power, he was more diligent and rigorous than ever in his preparations. During three years, all Aſia was in a kind of ferment. Orders were ſent to all the cities of his dominions, enjoining levies of men, ſhips, horſes, and all kinds of proviſions. It appeared probable, that Greece would ſoon find it neceſſary to play a ſtill higher and deeper game for her laws and independence. However the ſtorm was ſuſpended for the preſent. Unwieldy and unconnected empires are ever in a ſtate of fluctuation and viciſſitude. Inſtead of acquiring new provinces, Darius finds himſelf obliged to turn his arms and preparations againſt the revolted kingdom of Egypt. His thoughts are alſo diſtracted, by a conteſt that aroſe between two of his ſons with regard to the ſucceſſion to the kingdom. But juſt when he had ſettled the diſpute, by naming Xerxes his ſucceſſor, and intended to purſue both the enterprizes of Greece and Egypt, his vain career was ſtopped ſhort by the unrelenting hand of death.

Upon Xerxes' ſucceſſion to the empire, he did not diſcover any great inclination to proſecute his father's

father's views againſt Greece. The reduction of Egypt was an object of much more importance to him. But as ſoon as he had ſuppreſſed that revolt, the natural reſtleſſneſs and ambition of youthful monarchs; the intreaties of the deſcendents of Piſiſtratus (for their father Hippias fell in the battle of Marathon) in exile at Suſa, an embaſſy of exhortation and aſſiſtance from the Aleuadian kings of Theſſaly, and the ſuggeſtions of his near kinſman Mardonius, who entertained a violent deſire of being made governor of Greece, prevailed upon him at laſt to invade that country with all the power of his arms. During four years, therefore, after the reduction of Egypt, inceſſant and incredible preparations were made in every part of his immenſe empire. An army was raiſed, conſiſting of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and of eighty thouſand horſe, beſides chariots, camels, and other beaſts of burthen, and carriages. The fleet was in proportion, and conſiſted of two thouſand two hundred and eight gallies, furniſhed by the Phenicians, and the inhabitants of the iſland and ſea coaſt of Aſia. One would have thought ſuch a force irreſiſtible. They cut through mountains, humbled the Helleſpont by the indignity of a bridge, exhauſted rivers in their thirſt, and created a ſpecies of famine whereever they appeared. But neither their multitudes, nor the alarming accounts that were related of them, appalled the free country, the object of their reſentment, ambition, and avarice. They had the fortitude and magnanimity not only to arm

arm againſt them in defence of their laws and native ſoil, but even to entertain aſſured hopes of repulſing them to their eternal ſhame and confuſion.

The firſt proof and earneſt the Greeks exhibited of their ſuperior diſcipline and valour, was at the famous paſs of Thermopylæ, the key and the entrance to Greece. Upon this occaſion, about four thouſand Greeks contended during two entire days againſt upwards of a million of Perſians. They not only repulſed their attacks, but with an aſtoniſhing ſlaughter*; nay, ſo great were the inſtances of their heroic courage, that Xerxes, who was a ſpectator of the whole ſcene, twice ſprung in terror from his ſeat and throne, apprehenſive for the fate of his whole army. And though treachery came to his aid, yet Leonidas diſmiſſing the other Greeks to meet the enemy elſewhere upon leſs unequal terms, remained with three hundred Spartans and two hundred others, to die for the ſafety and glory of his country. It is impoſſible to read without emotion, and an higher opinion of our common nature, the various inſtances of contempt of death, of love of glory and of our country, that were diſplayed on this occaſion both by Leonidas and his illuſtrious companions. We can entertain no doubt from the various replies of Leonidas, but that when he marched to meet the enemy at Thermopylæ,

* Above twenty thouſand fell in the action, with ſeveral of note, and two of Xerxes's neareſt kinſmen.

it was with a determined purpoſe to inſpire the Greeks with confidence, and fill the Barbarians with terror by the ſplendour of his actions and the glory of his death. He was alſo encouraged to this reſolution by the ſuperſtition of the times, an oracle having declared, that the ſafety of Sparta and of her king were incompatible. Thus, when the Ephori repreſented to him that his force was too inconſiderable againſt ſo formidable a power, enjoining him to be better ſupported, without further explaining himſelf, he replied, They were, indeed, too few to oppoſe the irruption of the Barbarians, but numerous enough for the purpoſe he intended. Being embarraſſed at his ambiguous anſwer, they aſked if it was his intention to begin with ſome inconſiderable expedition; his gallant reply was, That in appearance he marched to defend the paſs of Thermopylæ, but his real deſign was, to ſacrifice himſelf with his few companions for the good of the public liberty; adding, the voluntary death of a thouſand men will render Sparta for ever celebrated †; whereas ſhould I lead a whole army, Lacedemon would be ruined by their defeat, eſpecially as none of thoſe who ſhould compoſe it would ever think of retreat or of flight. In the ſame ſpirit, to one who ſaid, Your troops are very few—Enow to die. So entirely was this illuſtrious character poſſeſſed by the love of glory and of his country, that he ſeems to have obſerved the moſt natural

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 11. vol. ii. Edit. Rud.

and

and moſt tender ſentiments; for when going to begin his march, and taking leave of his wife Gorgo, ſhe aſked him, if he had any other orders to give? None, ſaid he, but that you may marry ſome worthy perſon, and bear him virtuous children. His calm indifference, and that of his companions, to their approaching fate, is equally worthy of notice; for when Xerxes ſent a ſcout to learn their numbers, and how they were employed, he found them performing their exerciſes, and putting their hair in order, which (laſt circumſtance) was uſual with them when going to expoſe their lives to the greateſt dangers. They did not think it worth their while to take any notice of the ſcout, but allowed him to retire at his leiſure: yet Xerxes could not believe that they were come to die, and to deſtroy as many of their enemies as they could. The king, therefore, judging of Leonidas's ſentiments by his own, wrote to him, "By not perſiſting in fighting againſt the Gods, and by joining my armies, you may become the monarch of Greece;" he replied, "if you knew in what conſiſts the happineſs of human life, you would not covet what is another's; but as to myſelf, I would a thouſand times rather die for the ſafety of Greece, than command all thoſe of my nation." When he alſo ſent to them, to lay down their arms, to retire to their own cities, and to enter into an alliance with the Perſians, engaging upon their compliance to give them a more extenſive and fertile country than what they inhabited, Leonidas's anſwer was, That they

they would be more uſeful to him with their arms, than if deprived of them; and if, on the contrary, they ſhould find it neceſſary to attack him, they would want them, in order to defend their liberties; and with regard to the territories he offered them, he ſaid, it was a maxim with the Greeks, to acquire them by valour not by baſeneſs. Though ſo prodigal of his own life, the amiable tenderneſs of friendſhip made him ſolicitous to preſerve that of Themiſtias the diviner. He had foretold to Leonidas, his own fate at Thermopylæ, with that of all who accompanied him. Leonidas was therefore deſirous of ſending him to Lacedemon, under pretence of communicating this diſcovery, but in reality in order to prevent his friend from being cut off with the reſt; but Themiſtias evaded the benevolent artifice, replying, I was ſent to fight, not to do the office of a courier. After the treachery of Epialtes (Trachinius, according to Diodorus) had rendered the defence of the paſſage no longer practicable, Leonidas having diſmiſſed all the four thouſand (in order to meet the enemy upon leſs diſadvantageous terms) except his own three hundred Spartans, and about two hundred Theſpians, the latter preſſed him with one voice, to lead them againſt the enemy before they ſhould be ſurrounded. Obſerving with pleaſure their ardour, he ordered them immediately to take the laſt repaſt of their lives, and he himſelf eat plentifully, in order to give him more ſtrength the longer to reſiſt the numbers of the enemy. Their death indeed followed, but with great loſs to

the

the Perſians, and to the aſtoniſhment of their monarch. It appears from the iſſue of this invaſion, and the converſation of Xerxes with Demaratus, that this ſacrifice was not an extravagant inſtance of deſperate valour, but ſerved the purpoſes intended by it, by giving the Perſian army a very alarming and formidable idea of the intrepidity, reſolution and diſcipline of the Greeks; we know from experience, of how great importance the firſt impreſſion is, in all military operations. The reply of Dieneas the Spartan, as it gives us a good idea of the ſentiments of his countrymen, is worthy of being remembered. When a Trachynian ſaid to him before the engagement of Thermopylæ began, that ſo great were the multitudes of the Barbarians, the very arrows they ſhould diſcharge would obſcure the light of the ſun, ſo far from being aſtoniſhed, in contempt of their numbers, he ſaid *, The news was good, and that if the ſun was intercepted by the Medes, they ſhould then fight in the ſhade, and not in the ſun. Theſe gallant and public-ſpirited perſons, as well thoſe who fell in this action, as thoſe who were ſlain before Leonidas diſmiſſed the confederates, were interred in the field of battle, with a ſimple inſcription, expreſſive only of their love of glory, of their country, and of their obedience to her commands. Such was the wiſdom of the inſtitutions of this illuſtrious nation, that theſe virtues were hardly efforts among them; never matter of prolix oſtentation.

* Herodotus, lib. vii. p. 226. Edit. Glaſg.

After this action, which, though in appearance a defeat, was equal to the greateſt victory, Xerxes preferring the advice of his brother Achumenes to that of Demaratus, who propoſed the taking of the iſland of Cithera, and a diverſion in Laconia, by which the Spartans would be detached from the confederates, and confined to the defence of their own proper territories, reſolved to fall upon the united naval forces of the Greeks, aſſembled off Artemiſium, in hopes of overpowering them by numbers, as had happened at Thermopylæ.

Upon the Perſian invaſion, though moſt of the ſtates of Greece, were engaged in wars againſt one another, yet they immediately ſuſpended their hoſtilities, and united againſt their common enemy, in defence of their country, and of their liberties. This moderation, though in ſelf-defence, was worthy of praiſe, yet that of the Athenians before the ſea-fight off Artemiſium, was much more ſo; for the confederates expreſſing an unwillingneſs to yield the chief command to the Athenians, that wiſe and generous people, though their naval force exceeded that of all the reſt of the Greeks collected, yet preferring the common ſafety to their own juſt pretenſions, voluntarily receded from claims, and ſubmitted to fight under the conduct of Euribiades and the Spartans.

Even private individuals were animated by the ſame ſpirit*. Though Themiſtocles and Ariſti-

* A beautiful inſtance of the ſame kind is related by Pauſanias of Lycortas and Philopæmen. Lib. viii. c. 51.

des

des were at the head of the oppoſite parties, and irreconcileable enemies, yet they now voluntarily forgot all the cauſes of their diſlike and enmity. The former being apprehenſive the latter might, in revenge of his unjuſt treatment, be provoked to aſſiſt the enemy with his experience and talents, and thus facilitate the ruin of Greece, himſelf propoſed the repeal of the law by which he had formerly involved in baniſhment that great man, with others of his faction. From the ſame principle Ariſtides ſupported the opinion of Themiſtocles, with regard to the expediency of attacking the Perſian fleet at Salamis. Herodotus's unaffected account of the matter is worth tranſcribing. "While the Greeks were ſtill in council, Ariſtides the ſon of Lyſimachus arrived from Ægina. He was an Athenian, but voted into exile by the people. And yet for as much as I have learnt of his manners, he was the beſt and juſteſt man of Athens. This perſon coming to the place where the council ſat, ſent for Themiſtocles out, who was not his friend, but rather the fierceſt and moſt violent of his enemies, yet the greatneſs of the impending danger made him forget their former enmity, and reſolve to confer with him. When Themiſtocles came out, Ariſtides ſaid, "We ought at this time, and on all occaſions, to contend who ſhall do the greateſt ſervice to his country," &c. Memorable words, and worthy the attention of all public characters. Hence too, on a former occaſion, being joined in commiſſion in an embaſſy, when they were going

to leave the limits of Attica, Ariſtides ſaid to Themiſtocles, "Shall we now leave our enmity with the limits of our country, and after our return from our commiſſion, reſume it if you think proper." The forbearance of Themiſtocles, reſpecting the arrogance and inſolence of Euribiades, proceeded from the ſame cauſe. Becauſe he differed with him in opinion, he forgot himſelf ſo much as to hold up his cane, "Strike, ſaid Themiſtocles, but hear." Where do we meet with ſuch inſtances of moderation, public ſpirit, and magnanimity in the beſt regal governments?

We meet with another inſtance, reſembling a former one related above, of the tranquillity of mind and calm reſolution of the Greeks, notwithſtanding the dangerous criſis of their affairs. After the action at Artemiſium, Xerxes advanced with his land army. During his march, a ſmall body of Arcadians, neceſſitous and out of employment, deſerted to him, and being brought into the king's preſence, were examined reſpecting the Grecians. Among others, one of the Perſians, in the name of all the reſt, aſked what they were doing? The Arcadians replied, They were employed in celebrating the Olympian exerciſes, and in viewing the horſe-races and gymnaſtic combats. The Perſian inquired further, what reward the victors were to have? They gave for anſwer, a crown of olive. Upon which, Tigranes, the ſon of Artabanus, delivered his opinion with a noble generoſity, which yet the king attributed to fear. For when he heard that the recompence of the con-

conquerors was a garland or wreath, he could not forbear breaking out into this exclamation. "O Mardonius, ſaid he, againſt what kind of men have you perſuaded us to make war? men who contend not for gold and ſilver, but for virtue alone."

One can ſcarcely conceive a more illuſtrious inſtance of the love of liberty, and of public good, in preference to all private conſiderations, than the noble and heroical reſolution of the Athenians upon this formidable invaſion. Who, indeed, can without admiration behold them in theſe trying circumſtances, committing themſelves to their veſſels, relinquiſhing their city, their temples, the monuments of their anceſtors, their native ſoil (all of them ſo peculiarly dear to the members of an equal government), to be deſtroyed, deſolated, and laid waſte by fire and ſword by the Perſians, and ſolely for the general welfare of Greece (for Xerxes would have bought their alliance, inaction, or neutrality, at any price *); and all this without being ſhaken or ſeduced from their pupoſe, either by ſuch advantageous offers, or by the tears, intreaties, and lamentations of their aged parents, wives and children, and the howlings and dumb ſorrow of their domeſtic animals; for ſenſible minds are not indifferent to the feelings of irrational nature? Do we meet with any thing of this

* Demoſthenes tells us in his ſecond Philippic, that when the Athenians might have obtained the ſovereignty of Greece by ſubmitting to Xerxes, they rejected the offer with diſdain, abandoning their city, &c.

ſtrain in modern Italy, when invaded by Charles VIII., and the following princes of France?

After the inglorious defeat of the Perſians at Salamis, in which the Greeks deſtroyed almoſt their whole naval force, Xerxes, notwithſtanding his remaining millions, ſeems never to have recovered from his terror and aſtoniſhment, till he had eſcaped to the other ſide of the Helleſpont. Nay, Herodotus ſays, when mentioning his adviſing with Artemiſia and Mardonius, with regard to the expediency and propriety of his continuance in Greece or return into Aſia, ſo great were his fears, that though all the men and women in the world had adviſed him to ſtay, they would never have prevailed upon him. He therefore immediately began his march towards the Helleſpont, with the greater part of his army, leaving only three hundred thouſand with Mardonius: and ſo great was his precipitation, that he arrived at the paſſage, through ſuch a tract of country, in only five-and-forty days, but with a very inconſiderable part of his army. So immenſe a multitude could not keep pace with the rapidity of his fears; nay, a great part of them died in this flight rather than march, being conſtrained for want of time to procure ſuitable proviſions, to pluck a haſty and unwholeſome nouriſhment from corn in the ear, raw fruit, &c. and when theſe came not in their way, to feed upon the herbage that grew ſpontaneouſly on the ground, and to eat even the bark and leaves, which they ſtripped from the trees, leaving nothing behind. Such a con-

contraſt did this vain prince's ignominious return exhibit, to the pomp, oſtentation, and confidence, in the firſt day of this memorable expedition: and ſo greatly ſuperior in its effects, is the attachment to an equal and popular government, to that of a monarch, and of a partial oppreſſive one.

Though Mardonius had vainly engaged with his three hundred thouſand ſelect troops, to ſubdue all Greece for his maſter, yet he ſoon found the valour and diſcipline of the Greeks, as formidable by land as by ſea. He had a diſaſtrous and fatal experience of this in the battle of Platæa. However, before he would venture to bring the affair to a deciſion by arms, ſo apprehenſive was he of the event, notwithſtanding his boaſts and ſuperior numbers, that he endeavoured to weaken the Greeks, by detaching the Athenians from the common cauſe. With this view he ſends Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas, a common friend of both the Perſians and Athenians, to ſhew them the impoſſibility of reſiſtance, and to perſuade them into an alliance with Xerxes, by the moſt flattering and advantageous propoſals. For he was empowered to offer to rebuild their temples and houſes, to re-inſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their own territories, to give them beſide whatever other country they ſhould chuſe, to allow them to be governed by their own laws. He uſes every argument to perſuade them to gratify the king, he intreats them apparently ſincerely, and as a friend, to conſult their own intereſt, and not

expoſe themſelves by a fruitleſs oppoſition to inevitable ſlavery and deſtruction; for, adds he, "Conſidering the inequality of your forces, you cannot always maintain the war againſt the king, and though you ſhould defeat his preſent army, which your good ſenſe cannot ſuffer you to hope, ſtill mightier and more numerous armies, will be conſtantly brought againſt you." But neither the perſuaſions of friendſhip, neither the moſt flattering promiſes, nor the moſt alarming threats, could ſhake the reſolution of this patriot nation, or ſeduce them to prefer their own particular intereſt to that of the common ſafety, and liberty of all Greece. Their reply is ſo expreſſive of heroic courage and magnanimity, that it is worthy of eternal remembrance. "We are very ſenſible of the inequality of our numbers, in compariſon of thoſe of the king's, ſo that you might have ſpared us that inſult, yet even that circumſtance does not terrify us, and in order to preſerve our liberty, we will defend ourſelves as long as we can. You had better therefore, not endeavour to perſuade us to treat with the Barbarians, for it will be always in vain. Go then, and tell Mardonius, that it is the determined reſolution of the Athenians, never to make peace with the king, while the Sun ſhall continue to perform his courſe; and that it is the determined reſolution of the Athenians, never to enter into an alliance with Xerxes, but relying on the aſſiſtance of the gods, and heroes whoſe images and ſtatues he has contemptuouſly burnt, to reſiſt him to the laſt extremity.

And

And with regard to yourſelf *, do not for the future hold ſuch language in the preſence of the Athenians, and under a pretence of a regard for our intereſt, expoſe us to deteſtable actions, for we ſhould be ſorry you ſhould experience any thing diſagreeable from us, being connected with us by hoſpitality and friendſhip." The ambaſſadors from Sparta were preſent during this conference, and under no ſmall degree of apprehenſion. The reply of the Athenians to their arguments and intreaties is equally modeſt, great, and generous. "That the Lacedemonians ſhould be apprehenſive of our coming to an accommodation with the Barbarian, is natural and agreeable to the frailty of man, but after the proofs they have had of the ſentiments of the Athenians, ſuch fears are ſomething indecent, for not all the gold in the world, nor the poſſeſſion of the moſt fertile and beautiful country; ſhall ever ſeduce us to join with the Medes, and betray Greece to ſlavery."

After Mardonius, in the abſence of the Athenians, had taken poſſeſſion of their city, in great hopes that they would now be leſs haughty, he ſends Murichides, the Helleſpontin, to them aſſembled at Salamis, with the ſame inſtructions and propoſals that Alexander had offered them before. Upon his arrival he goes into the council, and delivers his meſſage. Lycidas, one of the ſenators, gives it as his opinion, that the moſt adviſeable reſolution they could take would be to

* Herodotus, lib. viii. p. 143, 144.

com-

communicate and refer his propoſal to the people. He was heard with the greateſt indignation by all preſent, and when thoſe without were informed of his baſeneſs and treachery, to ſuch a degree did they carry their reſentment, that crowding round him, they inſtantly ſtoned him to death, permitting Murichides to depart uninjured. In the ſame ſpirit of abhorrence and deteſtation, when the Athenian women obſerving the tumult, and having learnt upon inquiry the occaſion of it, and what had happened, running together and taking one another by the hand, with mutual exhortations, they proceeded voluntarily to the houſe of Lycidas *, and deſtroyed his wife and children in the moſt miſerable manner. How great muſt that enthuſiaſm have been, that could thus overcome the natural dictates of female tenderneſs and humanity!

Mardonius, perceiving that all further attempts and endeavours to gain over the Athenians to his maſter's intereſt, would be fruitleſs, reſolves to give full ſcope to his reſentment, and to make them ſuffer to the utmoſt for their contempt of his offers. He therefore ſets fire to their city, and entirely demoliſhes and deſtroys whatever remained ſtanding of the walls, houſes, and temples, laying all in a heap of ruins. Soon after followed the famous and deciſive actions of Platæa and Mycale, which entirely deſtroyed both the army and hopes of the Perſians, and which may be con-

* Herodotus, lib. ix. p. 5.

ſidered,

ſidered, in ſome degree, as the diſtant cauſes of the fall and ſubverſion of that unwieldy and barbarous empire. There cannot be a greater proof than the action of Platæa, how little formidable the greateſt ſuperiority of numbers is, when oppoſed to the citizens of an equal government, formed from their earlieſt youth to reſolution and valour by exerciſe and diſcipline. In this battle the army of the Perſians under Mardonius, amounted to three hundred thouſand ſelect men, beſides, about fifty thouſand Greek auxiliaries; the forces of the Grecians, including thoſe of all the different ſtates, conſiſted of about one hundred and ten thouſand; but of theſe not above forty thouſand were heavy armed, all the reſt being armed more ſlightly, and intended rather for excurſion and purſuit, than a regular and pitched battle. Yet, though Herodotus alleges, the Perſians were not inferior to the Greeks either in ſtrength or courage, only three thouſand (beſides the forty thouſand that fled away with Arbanus) eſcaped out of this mighty hoſt. Of the Lacedemonian Spartans only ninety-one, of the Tegeans only ſixteen, of the Athenians only fifty-two, fell in the field of battle *. The patient valour of the Spartans, on this memorable occaſion, is highly worthy of admiration; for though overtaken by the enemies cavalry, and overwhelmed and haraſſed by great flights of arrows, they yet ſtood

* Diodorus ſays, the whole loſs of the Greeks amounted to ten thouſand and upwards. Lib. ii. p. 26.

calmly

calmly in their ranks, without making either reſiſtance or defence, waiting with pious reſignation till the entrails and ſacrifices ſhould be favourable. During this ſevere and trying interval, many perſons of rank and diſtinction were either wounded or ſlain. Among others, it is impoſſible to read the untimely fate, and dying expreſſions of Callicrates, without tears of pity and admiration. This gallant perſon, the moſt valiant not only of the Lacedemonians, but of all the other Greeks, as he ſtood in his rank, was wounded by an arrow in the ſide. While they were carrying him off the field, the action being now begun, lamenting his approaching fate, and turning to Aremneſtus, a Platæan, he ſaid, he was not ſorry to die for Greece *, but to be cut off before he had fought, or performed any thing worthy of himſelf, or of his zeal for the common cauſe.

To ſhew the abſurdity of ambition, and the folly of kings, it may be worth while to take notice of a circumſtance relating to the iſſue of this battle, and to the good ſenſe of Pauſanias the general. When Xerxes fled ſo ignominiouſly out of Greece, he left with Mardonius all the rich plate and magnificent furniture of his tent and equipage. Pauſanias obſerving ſuch a profuſion of furniture, of gold, of ſilver, and of tapeſtry of various colours, ordered the cooks, bakers, and other officers, to prepare ſuch a ſupper for him, as they uſed to do for Mardonius. When, agree-

* Herodotus, lib. ix. p. 71.

ably

ably to his commands, they had done ſo, and he had viewed the ſophas of gold and of ſilver, all covered with the richeſt cuſhions, the tables of the ſame precious metals, and the expenſive ſupper prepared; aſtoniſhed at the profuſion before him, he bid his attendants with a ſmile, make ready a Lacedemonian meal. When it was ſerved, and the immenſe difference appeared, Pauſanias not being able to refrain from laughing, ſent for the captains of the Greeks *, and when they appeared, ſhewing them both the one and the other, he obſerved, I have called you together, O Grecians, being deſirous to ſhew you the folly and madneſs of this King of the Medes, who living in this manner at home, came hither to deſpoil us who fare ſo hardly.

After the retreat of Xerxes, and the tranſactions above alluded to, the Greeks not ſatisfied with having repulſed and deſtroyed the Perſians, with ſuch ſpirit and magnanimity, were rouſed by ſucceſs and diſdain, to purſue even an offenſive war againſt the great king, and with ſuch ſuperiority and advantage, that after various victories by ſea and land, they obliged that mighty monarch to confirm the free enjoyment of their laws and liberties, to all the Greek cities of Aſia. Then followed the unjuſt and unſucceſsful expedition againſt Egypt, and various private and leſs important wars among the Grecian ſtates themſelves, till the memorable war of Peloponneſus, the ruin

* Herodotus, lib. ix. p. 81.

of

of thoſe free communities, and the true reaſon of the ſucceſs of the Macedonians againſt them, under Philip and Alexander. But before we proceed to many illuſtrious inſtances of love of fame, and of public good, in theſe rival ſtates, during their competition for independence, equality, or ſuperiority, it may be proper to look back a little, and glean a few examples which had eſcaped us, or could not be noticed with ſuch propriety, in the former part of this treatiſe.

The love of glory, of reputation, and a name, is the deſire of praiſe and eſteem, upon account of eminent proofs of wiſdom, valour, genius, and virtue. This paſſion is the ſource of every thing great and noble in the human character. Without it, nothing extraordinary or illuſtrious was ever atchieved. We owe the happieſt efforts of the patriot, the philoſopher, and the artiſt, to its generous influence. It has, therefore, been ever cheriſhed and cultivated, with much ſolicitude by the wiſeſt ſtates, and profoundeſt thinkers. Indeed, a contempt or indifference with regard to ſo noble an incentive to action, has even been conſidered as one of the moſt certain ſymptoms of degeneracy and corrruption of manners [C]. The judicious Plutarch obſerves *, that the Lacedemonians encouraged a love of glory in their youth, made them ambitious of praiſe and fearful of blame, entertaining no favourable hopes of ſuch as were affected by neither the one or the

* In Lyſandro, p. 432. vol. i. Edit. Xyland, Paris, 1624.

other,

other, and deeming all thoſe baſe and ſordid wretches, who were not anxious to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſomething meritorious. The wiſe and amiable Xenophon, a perſon of the greateſt knowledge of the world, and of human affairs, the friend of Ageſilaus, the hiſtorian of the two Cyrus's, ſays with a noble frankneſs, "No ſound is ſo pleaſant to the ears of a man, as the rehearſal of his own praiſes [D]." And Plutarch, "It muſt alſo be acknowledged, that no ſpectacle, no recollection, no reflection, affords ſo great ſatisfaction and pleaſure to the mind of man, as the contemplation of the fair and laudable actions we have performed and accompliſhed while in office, and the adminiſtration of public affairs." The early and continued influence of theſe ſentiments and principles, was the cauſe of all the great ſayings and actions we have recorded in the foregoing and following pages. In the different ſtates of Greece, every rank and condition felt their force and energy. They were encouraged and called forth by every device and expedient, even by the exerciſes of running, wreſtling, boxing, driving the chariot, playing on the flute, &c. Such was their emulation and enthuſiaſm, that the ſucceſsful often expired in the arms of victory. Fathers wept with joy at their fate. Boys, youths, and men contend in the various Grecian games and exerciſes. Statues by the moſt eminent artiſts, pictures, &c. are erected in honour of the victors; even cities diſputed the glory of giving birth to them. No wonder then, that this country,

try, now the deſpicable corner of an arbitrary monarchy, was once the nurſery of heroiſm, virtue, and talents. May we not alſo infer, that a principal reaſon of the inferiority of modern characters in theſe diſtinguiſhing reſpects, may be attributed, among other cauſes, to a neglect of ſimilar inſtitutions, a ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs and ſenſuality, and an affected or profeſſed diſregard of a reputation or popularity, as a vain and empty thing, and a ſlothful, groveling, and mean-ſpirited acquieſcence, in the apparent reſpect that is paid by the ignorant or the ſervile, to the oſtentatious and empty advantages of mere wealth and ſituation.

We may obſerve, that this paſſion, ſo far from being a proof of ſimplicity, weakneſs, and want of penetration (as is always pretended by the weakeſt, moſt ignorant, and corrupt of mortals), has ever glowed brighteſt in the moſt enlarged, profound, and liberal, and vigorous minds [E]. To the former inſtances, let us add the following; without regard to ſtrict method and the order of time, we may, perhaps, alſo borrow ſome inſtances from Roman ſtory.

Few names are more eminent in Greece than that of Themiſtocles. With a moſt judicious penetration and foreſight, he turned the attention of his country from the increaſe of their land forces, to that of their gallies and navy; and though this policy was ſeverely cenſured by his enemies, who alledged, that of gallant foot ſoldiers armed with ſword and buckler, he had degraded them into traders and mariners, tying them to the bench

and the oar, yet it was to this prudent change in their views and diſcipline, that all Greece were indebted for the preſervation of their liberty and independence when invaded by the Perſians, and Athens in particular, for her power and reputation. Thucydides obſerves of this great man, that there never was a more extraordinary inſtance of quickneſs and ability without the aid of regular inſtruction. His excellent underſtanding enabled him to conjecture whatever could poſſibly happen, the fertility and vigour of his mind ſupplied him with conſtant expedients. No event ever found him unprepared: none of his meaſures were ever rendered fruitleſs by remiſſneſs or want of activity. The love of his country and of glory, were ever exciting him to give new and repeated proofs of capacity and greatneſs of mind. To ſuch a degree was he tranſported with theſe noble and generous paſſions, and with ardour to diſtinguiſh himſelf, that though but a young man when the memorable victory was obtained over the Perſians at Marathon, and when Miltiades was in great reputation upon that account; yet he was obſerved to be immerſed in thought, to paſs whole nights without ſleep, and to avoid the ſociety of his companions, and his uſual recreations. And when his friends expreſſed their concern and ſurpriſe at this ſudden change in his manners and way of life, he gave for anſwer, The trophies of Miltiades would not let him ſleep.

Notwithſtanding its apparent injuſtice and ingratitude, the baniſhment by oſtraciſm was a neceſſary reſtraint on the ambition of individuals, and a principal ſecurity of the popular government of Athens. This is the opinion of all the old writers, particularly of Ariſtotle and of Plutarch, much better judges in the matter than we can poſſibly be at ſo great a diſtance of time. It was honourable not infamous, it was but temporary, it did not comprehend confiſcation of eſtate; and ſo great a proportion of voices were neceſſary (to give it effect), that it could hardly fall upon a perſon, whoſe abſence was not in a manner indiſpenſable, and who had in ſome degree deſervedly incurred it. When Themiſtocles, either owing to his own arrogance, or the levity or juſt apprehenſion of the people, had fallen under this noble ſpecies of cenſure, he was received and entertained in the moſt generous and magnificent manner by Artaxerxes, who had ſucceeded his father Xerxes in the throne of Aſia. This prince's joy on the acquiſition of a perſon of Themiſtocles's reputation, is repreſented to have been ſo great, that he is ſaid to have cried out two or three times in his ſleep in the night, I poſſeſs Themiſtocles. He was in hopes of availing himſelf of the fugitive's talents, experience, and knowledge, of the beſt methods of annoying his countrymen and the reſt of the Grecians, whoſe ſucceſs againſt the arms of Perſia, that proud and effeminate people could never recollect without hatred

hatred and deſire of revenge. His critical ſituation and preſent reſentment made Themiſtocles give into that prince's views, and encourage his hopes; but when called upon to perform his engagements, and take the command of the army, raiſed at ſuch expence, and ſo numerous, againſt Greece, the innate love of his country, and ſhame to endeavour to ruin what he had ſo glorioufly ſaved, were more powerful than all the motives of gratitude or intereſt, and forced him on the ſevere expedient of taking poiſon, and dying a voluntary death *. Diodorus Siculus ſays, he attempted to fruſtrate the king's views by an artifice: he prevailed on him to bind himſelf by an oath, not to invade Greece without Themiſtocles, and then took poiſon; but this circumſtance ſeems hardly credible, and rather rhetorical than true. So ſingular an inſtance of generoſity, at the expence of life itſelf, is ſaid even to have made Artaxerxes deſiſt from his intended enterpriſe: and thus this great man, even on his death, gave a ſignal proof of his innocence, and of the fidelity with which he had ſerved his country.

Notwithſtanding Pericles's great eloquence and talents, they were, perhaps, pernicious rather than beneficial to Athens. They gave him too great an aſcendant in that popular government. They, in a great meaſure, involved his fellow-citizens in the fatal Peloponneſian war; they oc-

* Lib. 11. p. 44. edit. Rudd.

caſioned the ruin of the authority of the court of Areopagus; they countenanced a taſte for diſſipation, idle curioſity, and all the works of taſte and magnificence: hence the oppreſſion of their colonies and allies; hence their luxury and ruinous ſchemes of ambition. As eloquence was the firſt inſtrument by which this extraordinary perſonage accompliſhed all his purpoſes, it is not ſurpriſing he ſhould have been ambitious of the glory of it. So great, indeed, was his ſolicitude in this reſpect, that we are told before he aſcended the roſtrum to harangue the people, he conſtantly prayed the gods, that nothing might fall from him which could be deemed foreign to his ſubject, or unbecoming it.

Every one recollects the ardent thirſt of Demoſthenes after the ſame ſpecies of glory, the temporary ſecluſion from ſociety, the ſubterranneous cave, the half-ſhaven viſage, the whole length mirror, the ſuſpended ſword *, the early morning induſtry that emulated even that of the handicraft, the ſteep aſcent, the pebbles of the ſhore, the reſounding ocean †, all made ſubſervient to the correction, improvement, and perfection of his oratorical talents.

The paſſion for the ſame ſpecies of his rival Cicero, in ſome reſpects his equal, in others his

* Ερωτι δη παντα σορίμα, κουρα, σπηλαιον κατοπτρον, ξυρις, γλωτ-ταν διαρθρεσαι, &c. Vid. Lucan. Demoſthenes Encomium. p. 1082. edit. 1615.

† Cicero Tuſc. lib. iv. c. xix. edit. Oliv.

ſuperior,

ſuperior, was ſo ſtrong, that to give but one inſtance, being once to plead before the centumviri, or 100 judges, and one of his ſlaves bringing him word that the appointed day was deferred, he was ſo overjoyed at the delay, that he immediately beſtowed on him the greateſt favour in his power, gave him his freedom and liberty.

Who does not read the name of Sylla with abhorrence and execration; yet the abdication of the dictatorſhip make us forgive him almoſt one half of his crimes. When this admirer of a free conſtitution (can there be a greater proof of it, than the inſtance of ſelf-denial above alluded to), notwithſtanding the cruelty of his nature, arrived at home, after having delivered his country from the horrors of a civil war, he writes in his commentaries (which are not come down to us), that he was ſo agitated and tranſported with joy, he could not once cloſe his eyes during the whole night.

No fatigue, no kind of bodily hardſhip, no degree of danger is able to damp or ſubdue this nobleſt of paſſions. The character of Philopæmen, is great and ſeverely amiable in many reſpects. The love of his country and military glory, were his ruling paſſions. They glowed equally bright and vigorous in his youth and in his old age. His thoughts were continually bent on the purſuit of his grand object*. His hiſtorian relates, that in order to invigorate his body,

* Plutarch & Pauſanias, lib. viii. c. xlix, &c.

and inure himſelf to the fatigues of war, he paſſed his times of leiſure, not in indolence and the gratifications of ſenſuality, but in the exerciſe of the chace, and in the moſt laborious parts of huſbandry. With this view he went every day after dinner and ſupper (the antients ſupped early, and it was their chief meal), to an eſtate of his at no great diſtance from the city, where he ſlept on a common matreſs, and roſe before the ſun, to work with his people and ſervants in his vineyards, or at the plough. He then returned to the city, ſpending the reſt of the day in public buſineſs with the magiſtrates or with his friends. Being juſtly ſenſible of the influence of letters, on the temper, manners and underſtanding, he alſo attended the diſcourſes of the philoſophers of his times, and ſtudied the beſt moral writings of the antients, in order thus to nouriſh, preſerve and excite the love of virtue and of glory. Military diſcipline, and the conduct of armies, engroſſed a great part of his time and attention; and in this reſpect he was not ſatisfied with the information to be derived from the hiſtories of Alexander, and the common treatiſes on the art of war, but ſtudied the nature and ſituation of places themſelves. Thus, when travelling on the road on horſeback or on foot, he came to a defile, a difficult paſs, broken or ſteep ground, a rapid river, &c. he uſed to ſtop and communicate his ſentiments and reflections to thoſe who accompanied him, and deſire their opinion, on the manner in which an army ſhould be drawn up, march, defend, or attack

with

with moſt advantage, in ſuch unexpected and embarraſſing circumſtances. Hence, by this paſſion and induſtry, he became the greateſt general and commander of his age; for the antients had too much good ſenſe, to hope for excellence of any kind without pains and application. They wiſhed indeed for a good ſoil, but were juſtly ſenſible, that the beſt and richeſt, without pains and culture, produces nothing but thorns and brambles. They knew too, how greatly perfection and excellence depend on cuſtom, habit, experience.

The true cauſe of the Peloponneſian war, was the juſt alarm of Sparta; and of the other ſtates of Greece, at the increaſe of the Athenian greatneſs, their oppreſſion, and tyranny of their colonies and allies, their ſeizure and transfer to Athens of the common treaſure of the Greeks depoſited in Delos. In the beginning of this war, the ſuperiority of their naval forces enabled them greatly to haraſs and diſtreſs their rivals and enemies. They were continually making deſcents on their coaſts, deſolating their fields, ſetting fire to their habitations, carrying off their herds, flocks, and ſlaves. All Greece, and the iſlands, were kept in a continual ſtate of apprehenſion and terror, by theſe ſudden ravages and depredations. But this ſucceſs and proſperity were not of long duration. They were even, in a great meaſure, the cauſe of the following misfortunes, and of that arrogant and oppreſſive commonwealth, the demolition of their walls, the ruin of their navy,

the ſubverſion of their government. For after the death of Pericles, in the memorable plague of Athens, who alone had authority and credit equal to reſtrain the imprudence, raſhneſs and extravagance of the people, a ſet of unprincipled demagogues, ambitious of the management of affairs, involved and drove them into the moſt extravagant and deſtructive meaſures, by their flattering and prepoſterous harangues. They perſuaded them that nothing could reſiſt their power; and that a ſort of univerſal empire was an object alone, worthy of the terror of their arms. Hence their obſtinacy in their ambitious views, notwithſtanding repeated propoſals for a peace; hence in the heat of ſo weighty and deſtructive a war, the mad and fatal attempt upon the large and populous iſland of Sicily; hence their unaccountable treatment of Alcibiades, the only perſon capable of conducting or retrieving their affairs; and hence, *in fine*, the long train of evils that followed. Theſe obſervations may be neceſſary to preſerve ſome degree of connection, and to throw light on what follows.

It is a melancholy and humbling reflection, that any great degree of proſperity and power can neither be intruſted with individuals or communities, without being always perverted and abuſed, and ending generally in the infamy and ruin of both. We have juſt had an inſtance of this in the conduct and fortunes of the Athenians. One would have imagined, that their example ſhould have been a warning to their rivals of Lacedemon;

mon; yet it had no ſuch effect, for in a little time, the oppreſſion and tyranny of the Spartans became as odious and intolerable to the other ſtates of Greece, as ever that of Athens had been. Hence diſguſt, diſſatisfaction, and in the conſequence, union and hoſtility againſt this arrogance and perverſion of power and ſucceſs. The Thebans took the lead in this neceſſary oppoſition to the views of avarice, cruelty, and ambition. This ſtate had been raiſed from obſcurity, to an high degree of conſideration, by the talents and virtue of two illuſtrious perſonages, Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Before we proceed to give ſome idea of the manners of the laſt of theſe great and good men, it may be neceſſary to premiſe, that after the ſevere humiliation of Athens, the Lacedemonians, encouraged by the glorious march of Xenophon and the ten thouſand, during upwards of twelve months, and over four thouſand three hundred miles of an enemy's country, in the face, and in ſpite of their inumerable armies, aſpired, under the conduct of their king Ageſilaus, to carry the war into Aſia, and even to ſubdue that immenſe empire. Their ſucceſs was agreeable to their fondeſt hopes, and had not the king of Perſia's gold, and perhaps the other free ſtates of Greece (for their ſucceſs would have been attended with the ſame conſequences with that of Philip and Alexander), recalled them to the defence of their country, it is probable, that the entire conqueſt of Aſia would

not

not have been reſerved for a prince of Macedon. But the gold and apprehenſions above alluded to, uniting the Athenians, the Thebans, the Corinthians, the Eubæans and the Arcanians, againſt the views of Sparta, obliged that ſtate to ſtop the career of the victories of her forces in Aſia, and recall them to the defence of their proper country. To diſtreſs and diſcourage them ſtill more, Pharnabazus, the king's lieutenant, aſſiſting Conon the Athenian with a numerous fleet, enabled him to acquire a complete victory over the Lacedemonians at ſea, to rebuild their walls, and retrieve their loſſes, and recover great part of their former dominions. This ſucceſs reduced the Spartans to the ſhameful peace of Antalcidas, which diſhonoured them in the eyes of all Greece, and gave the moſt glaring proof of their envy and ſelfiſhneſs; for to prevent the Athenians from recovering the dominion at ſea, they not only conſented to abandon the Greek cities of Aſia to the king's diſpoſal, but alſo to render independent not only the iſlanders, but all the cities of Greece, both ſmall and great, in order that every ſtate of Greece might be weakened and diſcouraged, and that they might never again entertain thoughts of diſturbing or making any further attempt againſt Aſia. This conduct was aggravated by their treacherous ſeizure of the Cadmea *, and the ridiculous and fooliſh

* It is ſaid there was ſomething very like this in the conduct of the Spaniards reſpecting Falkland's iſland, when it was

fooliſh attempt of Sphodrias upon the Piræus. Though the Athenians at firſt joined the Thebans, yet their ſuſpicion of the deſigns of that ſtate, and envy at ſeeing them riſing out of obſcurity into eminence, ſoon induced them to relinquiſh their new connection, and to conclude a peace with their enemies, out of which the Thebans were even excluded. Notwithſtanding this deſertion and excluſion, the Thebans were neither diſmayed, nor diſcouraged from proſecuting their views. Under the conduct of their general Epaminondas, they achieved the ever memorable victories of Leuctra and Mantinea. One cannot read the character of this illuſtrious perſonage, without thinking better of one's ſelf and of human nature. His civil virtues were equal to his military ones; temperate, humane, benevolent, endearing in private life; in public, indefatigable, enterpriſing, magnanimous. By his induſtry, exhortations and example, he carried the art of war to a high degree of perfection among his fellow-citizens, and inſpired them with a deſire of military glory. Obſerving the weakneſs of Athens, and the declining ſtate of the influence, credit, and power of Sparta, he rouſed his country to exert and aſpire in her turn to the ſovereignty or chief command; and notwithſtanding

was inſiſted a war would ruin us. We ſeem to have no ſuch apprehenſions in our preſent equitable and politic one againſt America. I believe it was even more humiliating and inſulting; for Spain not only retained the country, but alſo rewarded the governour.

the

the ſuppoſed diſadvantage and incapacity of his countrymen, imagined inherent and inſuperable, and owing to government and climate, he overcame all theſe obſtacles, and had he not been cut off in the height of his glory and ſucceſs, would have probably effected his purpoſe. His native talents were ſoftened and enlightened by the love and purſuit of letters. Superior to the pleaſures of ſenſe, to the deſire of wealth, to the gratifications of envy or reſentment, his ſole ſatisfactions conſiſted in procuring the advantage, independence and glory of his country, in the increaſe of his knowledge, in the command of all his paſſions, in the exerciſe of tenderneſs, affection, and ſervice, to his friends and to all worthy men. The laſt acts of his glorious life were ſuitable and equal to all the other parts of it; his love of glory and of his country burned bright to the very laſt. In the action at Mantinea, the moſt important ever fought between Greeks, and in which, on both ſides, their forces were perfected by diſcipline and a long experience, this heroic perſon being mortally wounded, and carried yet alive into his tent, the phyſicians and ſurgeons being called, and unanimouſly agreeing in opinion, that his death muſt be the conſequence of drawing the iron out of the wound (he was wounded in the ſide with an arrow), he prepared himſelf to die as glorioufly as he had lived; firſt calling his armour-bearer, he enquired if his buckler was ſafe; he replied yes, and ſhewed it to him. He then aſked which party was victorious.

The

The ſame perſon anſwered, The Thebans. It is time then to die, ſaid he, draw out the arrow, and let me bleed. His ſurrounding friends immediately gave a great ſhriek, and one of them burſting into tears, having ſaid Alas! Epaminondas, you die childleſs; By no means, I leave two daughters, the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea*. He then calmly expired, as ſoon as they had drawn the head of the arrow out of the wound.

Characters under the influence of ſuch ſentiments, and acting from ſuch motives, were far ſuperior to all the temptations of intereſt and advantage. Let us take two or three examples out of many. Upon their great overthrow in Sicily, the Athenians were in the greateſt conſternation. As is natural in misfortunes, they imputed their loſſes to the forms of their government, to other cauſes, to any thing rather than the real one, the abuſe of their power, their inſatiable ambition, and their unprincipled diſſentions. Flattering themſelves, therefore, that a change in this reſpect would produce one in their ſucceſs, they committed the chief direction of their affairs, ſometimes to a few, ſometimes to a greater number, till after the defeat at Ægoſpotamos, the ruin of their navy and demolition of their walls, it was centred, through the influence of the Lacedemonians, in thirty ſelect perſons.

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. xv. p. 396. edit. Rudd.

Theſe

Theſe were to reform their conſtitution, amend their laws, and retrieve their affairs. We have ſeen, in a former eſſay, how oppoſite they acted to all theſe purpoſes, and to what an exceſs and exorbitancy they carried the abuſe of their power *. When they had murdered, or driven into baniſhment the beſt and moſt virtuous perſons of the city, being apprehenſive of the oppoſition of Thraſybulus, who was at the head of thoſe in exile, and had ſeized on Phylè, a very advantageous part in Attica, in order to gain him to their party, and ſeduce him into their views, they ſent certain perſons to him, with offers of ſucceeding to the ſituation of Theramenes (one of the thirty, and whoſe unjuſt and melancholy fate we have lamented in another place †), and of alſo bringing back with him any ten of the exiles he ſhould think proper. But the generous patriot, ſuperior to all conſiderations of private and perſonal intereſt, nobly replied, That he preferred baniſhment to all the power of the thirty; and that on his part, the war ſhould never ceaſe, till all the exiled and oppreſſed were recalled to their country without exception, and the ſovereign power reſtored to the people ‡.

The ſame preference of public to private good, dictated the patriotic and diſintereſted reply of Pederatus; who meeting with a diſap-

* See Eſſay iv. † See Eſſay iv.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiv. p. 262. edit. Rudd.

pointment,

pointment, in his hopes of being choſen of the three hundred, returned from the aſſembly full of gaiety and good humour, expreſſing the pleaſure it gave him to find, that in the city of Sparta, "there were three hundred citizens more "wiſe and virtuous than himſelf." His ſatisfaction and pleaſantry would, indeed, have been ridiculous and incredible under any government leſs equal, moderate, and virtuous, than that of Lacedemon.

Of the ſame noble ſtrain was the anſwer of Timoleon (of whom preſently more at large), to the petulance of Demænetus. This perſon, after all the great things the illuſtrious Corinthian had done for Syracuſe and Sicily (deliverance from her tyrants, recovery and re-eſtabliſhment of her liberty, by voluntary reſignation of the ſupreme power), had the ingratitude and inſolence to cenſure him before all the people (though as Plutarch ſays, they owed more to him, than to their parents or to their country), for ſeveral errors committed while he had the command of the forces. His reply was, "How greatly he was indebted to the immortal gods for granting the prayer he had ſo often made to them, that they would permit him to ſee the Syracuſans enjoy ſuch a liberty of ſpeech as they now appeared to poſſeſs." Inſtead of this magnanimous moderation, a modern character would probably, in ſimilar circumſtances, have loſt all temper, and vented his ſpleen

ſpleen and reſentment in the moſt violent reproaches and upbraidings.

So great was the prevalence of theſe paſſions and ſentiments, and ſo entirely did they abſorb every other in the minds of the citizens, of the equal government of antiquity, that life itſelf, fraternal affection, the tenderneſs, the fondneſs, the partiality of mothers, were ſacrificed coolly and deliberately, or with enthuſiaſm and rapture at their ſacred altars. When ſuch forms of civil polity were calculated to produce ſuch noble effects, of raiſing the human character almoſt above the human powers, what ignorant, ſervile, ſelfiſh apologiſt of regal and abſolute government ſhall dare to cenſure them. We ſupport our eulogy by facts, not declamation and general praiſe.

Preſents, or offerings of earth and water, were conſidered by the Aſiaticks, as emblems or acknowledgments of ſuperiority and ſubjection. Before Xerxes's invaſion, when he ſent to require and demand theſe from the other ſtates of Greece, he did not ſend to Athens or Sparta. The reaſon of this apparent omiſſion or forbearance, was the treatment the heralds of Darius had received from thoſe ſtates, when, upon a former occaſion, they had been diſpatched for that purpoſe. For theſe independent cities, looking upon the demand as an injury and an inſult, had ordered the meſſengers to be thrown into wells and pits, there to take

take what they required. Though their treatment was but ſuitable to the inſolence of their demands, yet after this ſeeming violation of the rights of heralds and ambaſſadors, owing to ſuperſtitious ignorance, or the artifices of the order of heralds, or of the prieſts, the Lacedemonians imagined they could not ſacrifice happily. Indeed, in ſupport of this conjecture, it was pretended, that Talthybius, whoſe deſcendants were their hereditary ambaſſadors, was offended at the affront and injury done to his office and family. Neither good ſenſe nor virtue can always preſerve either individuals or communities from miſtaken notions in religion. Hence this diſpleaſure of Talthybius was matter of great concern to the Spartans. It occaſioned various meetings. At laſt they made inquiry by proclamation, if any Lacedemonian was willing to die for Sparta. Upon which, Sperthies, the ſon of Anereſtus, and Bulis, the ſon of Nicolaus, perſons in great eſteem and credit, voluntarily offered themſelves, to appeaſe the reſentment of Talthybius, and make ſatisfaction and atonement to Xerxes, the ſon of Darius, for the death of his ambaſſadors at Sparta.

Herodotus obſerves, that both the courage and words of theſe voluntary victims are worthy of applauſe and admiration. For when in their way to Suſa, they waited on Hydarnes, governor of the maritime provinces of Aſia; and he having entertained them with great magnificence, began to extol his maſter's generoſity to perſons of me-

rit and valour, to wonder at the averſion of the Spartans to his intereſts, and to make them ſplendid offers of favour and advantage, increaſe of territory and dominion, &c. if they would concur in his views, they plainly and bluntly anſwered, Hydarnes, you are by no means an equal judge in this matter, for you adviſe concerning two conditions, one of which you have tried, but are ignorant of the other. How to be a ſervant, you know very well; but with regard to liberty, you are ignorant whether it be a pleaſant thing or otherwiſe; whereas, had you made the experiment, you would exhort us to contend for it, not only with ſpears, but with hatchets. Preſerving the ſame dignity of ſentiment and behaviour, when they approached the great king, notwithſtanding the orders and threats of his guards, they would neither proſtrate themſelves, nor adore him, according to the brutiſh and unmanly cuſtom of Perſia, poſitively refuſing compliance, whatever might be the conſequence, ſaying calmly, that they had never been accuſtomed to adore any man, neither were they come thither for that purpoſe *.

Nothing ſo fatal to the fluctuating virtue of man, as uninterrupted ſucceſs, and an acquaintance and communication with foreign manners. Of this reflection, the Spartan Pauſanias is a memorable proof. Greece was indebted to his valour and talents for many and ſignal ſervices, the

* Herodotus, lib. vii. 135, 136. edit. Glaſg.

victory

victory of Platæa, the total overthrow of the Perſian army, the freedom of the Greek cities of the Helleſpont and of Ionia; yet unacquaintance with a reverſe of fortune, and preſumption on his ſuperior abilities, tranſported him to ſuch a degree of inſolence, pride, haughtineſs, oppreſſion and cruelty, that he ſoon rendered himſelf odious and deteſtable to all the allies and ſtates of Greece, and thus loſt his country, the ſovereignty of the ſea. Notwithſtanding his apparent contempt of the Aſiatic refinement and magnificence, in his ſenſible obſervation to the Spartan captains, after the ſucceſs of Platæa, and alluded to above; yet his acquaintance and admiration of the manners and luxury of Aſia, had made a deep impreſſion on his mind. They had even entirely alienated him from the plain and frugal cuſtoms of his country; and the offer of Darius's daughter in marriage, with ſuitable advantages, had ſeduced him to belie all his paſt ſervices, and to ſell himſelf to the enemies of Greece. As uſually happens in ſuch wicked projects, the means of his intercourſe being a complication of treachery, luſt and murder, his practices were betrayed and diſcovered. When apprehenſion of the conſequences had made him take refuge in the temple of Minerva, and the Lacedemonians ſeemed unwilling and averſe to violate the aſylum, we have an illuſtrious inſtance of the force of education, and of the ſuperiority of the love of public good, to the power of even maternal weakneſs and affection. For it is related, that the mother of Pau-

ſanias obſerving this backwardneſs, took up a ſtone, and went and laid it on the threſhold of the door or gate of the temple, after which ſhe returned to her own houſe, without doing or ſaying any thing further. The Lacedemonians pitied the parent, admired the citizen. They took the admonition, built up the door of the temple, and thus obliged the criminal to die by famine *.

The moſt excuſable partiality could not make the mothers of this renowned people unjuſt to the merits of the other citizens. The Peloponneſian war was not confined to Greece, it alſo involved in the quarrel all their allies of the different parts of Aſia, of the iſlands and of Thrace. After the battle near Amphipolis, in the latter country, ſome of the Lacedemonians being returned to Sparta, and giving an account of the victory of Braſidas (who, according to Thucydides gloried in great actions, not in the rewards of valour), the mother of the general inquired into the circumſtances of the actions, and aſked particularly in what manner her ſon had behaved; they all bore witneſs, that he had ſhewn himſelf the braveſt of all the Lacedemonians. She replied, ſhe perceived her ſon had acted like a brave man, but that he yet appeared to her inferior in many reſpects to ſeveral of the other captains and commanders; yet this ſon had fallen in the battle. The ſenſe of the Ephori of

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. xi. p. 35. edit. Rudd.

this

this fortitude and magnanimity, is alſo worthy of notice; for when it was told in the city, they decreed public honours to the woman, who had preferred the praiſe of her country, to that of her own ſon*.

Who can behold without emotion, the conflict between the ſacrifices we owe our country, and fraternal affection in the breaſt of the humane and virtuous Timoleon! With what pathetic earneſtneſs does he entreat and beſeech his ambitious brother Timophanes, not to perſiſt in his impious deſigns againſt the liberty of Corinth, their common country: and after the latter had, notwithſtanding, accompliſhed his criminal purpoſe, perverted the four hundred with the command of which he had been entruſted, to the ſubverſion inſtead of the defence of the conſtitution, by putting to death the principal citizens, without a trial or legal ſentence pronounced againſt them; who can behold without admiration Timoleon's pious tears and averted countenance, when remonſtrances, entreaties, prayers being tried in vain, and even treated with contempt and deriſion, he found himſelf conſtrained by ſevere but neceſſary duty to concur in the uſurper's death, though his brother, who fell during the affecting ſtruggle, by the ſwords of three of Timoleon's neareſt friends? Yet he had always extenuated the vices of this very brother, inſiſted with complacence on his good qualities, and had even

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. xii. p. 121.

ſaved his life in battle at the hazard of his own, receiving ſeveral wounds through his armour during the affectionate exertion. Perſons of merit and virtue extolled this action as an inſtance of the higheſt diſintereſtedneſs and greatneſs of mind. It was cenſured by thoſe only who were equally ignorant of the value of a free conſtitution, and of what it is our duty to attempt or ſuffer to preſerve or reſtore it.

The forms and genius of the Spartan government were not adapted to conqueſt, or extent and enlargement of empire. Notwithſtanding the valour and diſcipline of her citizens, they were but few in number, and the moſt inconſiderable loſs was always heavy, and in a manner irretrievable. The Spartans were fully ſenſible of this, and ſo great a value did they put on the lives of their citizens, that during the war of Peloponneſus *, when only four hundred Lacedemonians, and but eighty of theſe Spartans, were beſieged without poſſibility of eſcape or relief in the iſland of Spachterca, they would have ſubmitted to very diſadvantageous conditions of peace from Athens, in order to procure their deliverance and reſtoration to their country. And in the action at Leuctra†, though there fell but one thouſand Lacedemonians, and four hundred Spartans out of ſix hundred, yet they were never able afterwards to riſe above this loſs and repulſe. Notwith-

* Thucydides, lib. iv. p 247, &c. edit. Duker.

† Xenophon Opera, vol. iii. p. 397. edit. Wells.

ſtanding

ſtanding this ſevere blow, the ruin of their empire and their hopes founded on reputation more than on terror and reſources, yet their uſual magnanimity and patriotiſm did not forſake them. For when the accounts arrived at Sparta, of this unuſual, unexpected, and fatal defeat, it happened to be the laſt day of the gymnaſtic games, in which the youths contended naked in feats of ſtrength, addreſs and activity. The manly chorus, or band of young men, had juſt entered the place of exerciſe; yet the Ephori (for the letters were delivered to them), though certainly under great concern, would not ſuffer them to be interrupted, and the whole day was ſpent in the cuſtomary manner at ſuch times. They then ſent the names of the ſlain to their friends and relations, recommending ſilent ſorrow to the women. The next day the parents and kinſmen of thoſe who had fallen in the battle, were obſerved in the places of public reſort, with countenances full of gaiety and alacrity, and a ſort of exulting cheerfulneſs, and in their richeſt clothes; but as to the parents and kinſmen of thoſe who ſurvived, you could ſee but very few of them, and thoſe walking about hanging their heads, ſorrowful and dejected ‡. It is alſo related, that after this defeat, and likewiſe after that at Mantinea, the Spartans were ſo much aſhamed, they durſt not look their women in the face. Indeed, though the education of the females of

‡ Xenophon Opera, vol. iii. p. 398.

that country, differed widely from modern manners, yet ſuch was its force and efficacy, that it gave them, by a kind of ſympathy or contagion, the ſentiments and principles of the nobleſt and moſt elevated minds. We are indebted to the judicious and moral Plutarch, for ſeveral of their gallant and beautiful opinions and ſayings. Let us ſelect a few of them. When an account came to Girteas, that her nephew had fallen in battle in Candia; ſhe only replied, When he marched againſt the enemy, was not either their death or his own a neceſſary conſequence? It gives me infinitely more ſatisfaction, to hear he has died worthy of himſelf, of his country, and of his forefathers, than if he had dragged out his life to the extremity of old age, a drone and a coward. Demetria hearing that her ſon was returned from a campaign infamous of cowardice, herſelf put him to death. Another Lacedemonian lady being told that her ſon had abandoned his rank in battle, ſtabbed him with her own hands, as unworthy of his country, ſaying, he is not my ſon. Another having heard that her ſon had fled, and eſcaped the purſuit of the enemy, wrote to him, "There is an ill report of you, efface it or be no more." Another had ſent her five ſons to the camp, and was expecting the iſſue of the combat without the ſuburbs. Of the firſt perſon who returned from it, ſhe aſked what accounts?—Your five ſons are ſlain.—Wretch that thou art, I did not enquire about my ſons, but the fortunes of the

the public.—The victory is ours.—Then I am conſoled for the loſs of my children. Another giving his buckler to her ſon ſaid, Either bring back this buckler, or be yourſelf brought on it. Another to her ſon complaining of the ſhortneſs of his ſword, ſaid, Approach a ſtep nearer. To cloſe this illuſtrious liſt (which yet might be greatly extended), another being told that her ſon had fallen in battle in the ſpot where he had been placed, replied, " Bear him away then, and put his brother in his ſtead [F]."

OF THE LOVE OF GLORY AND OF OUR COUNTRY.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH no nation or country in the annals of the world, ever arrived at ſuch a pitch of virtue and glory as the antient republicks of Athens and Rome; yet, notwithſtanding this ſimilarity in their fortunes, in other reſpects, there is a ſtriking and remarkable difference in their manners and characters. Both paſſionately devoted to liberty, and to the deſire of dominion, and the reputation of valour and enterpriſe, yet the one leſs conſtant and uniform than the other in the purſuit of them; fickle, changeable, her deſires exceeding her powers and reſources graſping at too many objects at once, her ardour liable to be diveſted and weakened by inconſtancy, herſelf often her greateſt obſtacle, by ſacrificing to ſatiety or jealouſy, the very inſtrument of her victories, her ableſt and moſt virtuous citizens, inſolent to her allies, intoxicated by ſucceſs,

ceſs, dejected by adverſity, equally or more pleaſed to deliberate than to act; ſelfiſh, profuſe, diſſipated [A]. The other, reſolute, conſtant, grateful, magnanimous; moderate in the exerciſe of power, never elated by proſperity, never diſpirited by the ſevereſt blows of fortune [B]; deliberate with a view to action alone, not to diſplay an ingenious and amuſing eloquence; abounding in Dions, in Pericles's, in Timoleons, but not able to endure a Cleon, or an Alcibiades [C]. Their peaceful and private occupations, are as different and oppoſite as their public and political conduct. Agriculture, rural ſatisfactions, the purſuit of civil and military honours, the improvement of their conſtitution, the conflict of contending parties, the labours of the forum engage the one: the paleſtra, beauty, agility, vigour of perſon, the feſtivity of games and ſpectacles; artful digreſſion, lively diſputation, the luxury of the theatre, the animated canvas, the breathing ſtatue; converſation, gay, various, ludicrous, the extravagances of buffoonery, the flute, the voice, are the employments and amuſements of the other. This oppoſite tone of manners and of ſentiments is viſible even in the writings of either nations. Though ſo much formed on a Grecian model, yet how different the ſtrains of compoſition of Cicero's dialogues and thoſe of Plato? How inferior in variety of character, in humour, in careleſs and familiar alluſion, in circumſtances and incidents ſo inimitably deſcriptive of common, of ſocial life and manners! Indeed the general character of Greece, was far

from gravity and dignity. Even when intent on the moſt ſerious and intereſting ſubjects, ſhe could attain theſe but in an inferior degree. To be ſenſible of this (from one inſtance out of many), compare the painting, and manner even of Thucydides and Xenophon, with that of Livy and Tacitus. Beautiful narration, lively deſcription, profound good ſenſe, you find in all of them; but does your heart throb under the ſame ardour, the ſame pathetic ſenſibility, the ſame rapid, bold and glowing eloquence? And would either of the latter hiſtorians have deſcended to ſeveral expreſſions and illuſions of Pericles's eulogy, of Cleon's harangue with regard to the fate of Mytelene, or the amorous and parental weakneſſes of Ageſilaus in Xenophon; at leaſt, would they have dwelt on them with the ſame degree of pleaſantry and complacence?

After this breathing or digreſſion, let us reſume our ſubject, and give ſome inſtances of the manner of thinking of the Romans with regard to the ſubject of this eſſay.

Oppoſition to the abuſe and exceſſes of power, and the ſacrifice of private intereſt and advantage, of tranquillity of mind, natural affection, even health and life itſelf to the good of the public; that is, the generous reſolution of preferring the enjoyment and happineſs of multitudes, of millions, to the imaginary one of a few individuals, whether comprehending ourſelves ſingly, or our houſes, kindred and families, are the principal conſtituents, the higheſt inſtances of virtue. I

ſay

ſay the principal, the higheſt, becauſe all moral virtue, whether private or public, depends chiefly on the forms and genius of the governments we live under, and on the degree of their tendency to liberty or ſervitude. The proof of this aſſertion well deſerves a particular treatiſe, and I hope to be able to give it. We have related various inſtances of theſe noble exertions of diſintereſtedneſs, generoſity and magnanimity from the Grecian annals, thoſe of Rome do not hold out to our enthuſiaſm and imitation, a leſs numerous and brilliant ſeries.

The princes of Rome, till the uſurpation of Tarquin, were perſons of virtue and moderation. Their eminence and luſtre depending rather on their talents and perſonal qualities, than on diſtinct and peculiar privileges; and the conditions of all the members of the ſociety being pretty nearly the ſame, their conduct and proceedings were chiefly regulated and directed with a view, to the advantage and proſperity of the whole community or body of the people at large. But after Tarquin and his wife, by the perpetration and complicated crimes of inceſt, murder, fratricide and parricide, had uſurped the throne, in violation of all the forms of the community, without the conſent of either ſenate or people; the ways of lenity, humanity and juſtice, were abandoned and diſdained, and the domination was maintained and perſiſted in by the ſame iniquitous methods by which it had been aſſumed and arrogated: By oppreſſion and cruelty in all their

various

various and ruinous effects; exceſſive labour and military ſervice to the poor, the violation of wives, of virgin-daughters, of boys, confiſcation, baniſhment, death to the rich, were the uſual tenor of government. Under former reigns it was neceſſary to defend themſelves only againſt their foreign enemies and warlike neighbours, now, inſtances of fortitude and valour were not leſs requiſite, or leſs their duty againſt their domeſtic princes. Hence the expulſion of Tarquin and of his race. Hence the glorious idea and eſtabliſhment of an equal and popular government by the united wiſdom of Brutus and Valerius; hence in the former, the libation and ſacrifice of the blood of his own children to the good of his country. Who, indeed, without an equal degree of admiration and emotion, can behold the entreating citizens, the weeping ſons, imploring a parent's lenity, their bodies ſtript naked, and torn with rods, their heads at leaſt ſevered by the fatal ax? Who I ſay can imagine ſuch a ſcene, without an awful and trembling veneration of the parent and of the judge; his unchanged countenance, while no one elſe dared to lift up their eyes, his firm, unfaultering command to the lictors—"What remains is your part;" his conqueſt over the moſt excuſable and tendereſt affections, his diſregard to the extinction of his race and houſe, his preference of the intereſt and happineſs of his fellow-citizens to every domeſtic and perſonal conſideration? Such was the magnanimous generoſity, ſuch the exalted juſtice of the magiſtrate and the parent,

parent, in condemning his own blood to the ſentence of the law (which he might have eaſily evaded or mitigated, and to which he was even entreated), in himſelf ſeeing it put in execution; in fine, in acting a part far above the common ſtrain of humanity. Accordingly, this triumph of juſtice over nature, has been juſtly celebrated by the wiſeſt and beſt writers of antiquity. Dionyſius Halicarneſſenſis ſays, "While all preſent at this ſcene and ſpectacle burſt into tears, Brutus was the only perſon obſerved not to lament the death of his children*, to bewail the deſtitute condition of his family, nor to betray any other ſigns of ſoftneſs; but without tears, without ſighs, without emotion to the laſt, he bore his calamity with firmneſs. So great a ſtrength of mind was he endowed with, ſo conſtant in his reſolutions, and ſo much ſuperior to all thoſe paſſions that diſorder human reaſon. And Plutarch obſerves, "This was an action that cannot be too greatly praiſed, or too greatly cenſured, for either ſuch was the ſublimity of his virtue, that it deprived him of all feeling, or ſuch the violence of his emotion, as to deprive him of the uſe of reaſon; but in neither caſe was the diſpoſition trifling or common, but ſurpaſſing the ordinary bounds of human nature, and bordering either on what was divine or brutal. However, it is moſt reaſonable

* It is needleſs to ſay, that the crime of Brutus's ſons, was their being diſcovered in a conſpiracy to reſtore Tarquin and his houſe.

for

for us to unite in admiration of the man, than that the weakneſs of human judgment ſhould queſtion and undervalue his virtue; for the Romans do not think ſo highly of Romulus, for having founded their city and empire of Rome, as of Brutus, for having recovered their liberty, and eſtabliſhed a popular government, to which this ſacrifice chiefly contributed †". After the trying ſcene, Brutus retired, while every one remained a long time motionleſs, and without opening their lips, confounded, aſtoniſhed and terrified at what they had ſeen and witneſſed.

It is to be lamented, that unjuſt and wicked men ſhould ever be poſſeſſed of talents and induſtry. But unfortunately the ſame boiling vigour, rankneſs, elaſticity and reſtleſſneſs of mind, that tranſport and inſtigate them to overleap the ordinary bounds of morality, and which, had they been directed to noble ends, might have been productive of the moſt glorious effects, at the ſame time enable them to form and accompliſh their moſt violent and criminal purpoſes. The tyrant mentioned above, is a remarkable proof of the juſtneſs of this obſervation. Though driven from his throne, though without revenue, or even the apparent means of ſubſiſtence, though without adherents or partiſans at Rome, yet ſuch was his activity, addreſs, inſinuation and power over the minds of men, that he was able to raiſe up numerous friends and ſupporters of his cauſe

† Plutarch in Poplicola.

among

among the neighbouring princes and nations, and to carry on a vigorous, long and bloody conteſt for upwards of twenty years, in attempting to recover what he had been ſo juſtly and wiſely deprived of. And againſt whom was this conteſt maintained? Not againſt the remiſs, unintereſted, ſervile, puſillanimous ſubjects of a regal or deſpotic ſovereign, but in oppoſition to an impetuous, reſolute and warlike race of ſpirits raiſed high, and into a degree of enthuſiaſtic fermentation, by the acquiſition and aſſertion of a free, a popular, and equal government. With regard to the fact we are going to relate, we may alſo obſerve, that when a prince, by abuſing the truſt and confidence repoſed in him, has been expelled by a nation, the neighbour monarchs generally make his cauſe a common one, and endeavour his reſtoration by treachery or violence, how great ſoever may have been the abuſe and perverſion of his power. For their motive is neither attachment or regard to juſtice, but ſupport and maintenance of regal authority, and a deſire to intimidate all who dare to reſtrain, moderate, or queſtion its exceſſes. Their inducements are ſometimes alſo jealouſy of a riſing nation, the hope of making a dependent of a ſuppliant, or a deſire to embarraſs and diſtract the views and counſels of a rival ſtate. Such were probably the motives that prevailed upon Porſenna king of Tyrrhenia, to adopt the cauſe of Tarquin and of his family, and to endeavour their reſtoration. In conſequence, he marches into the Roman ter-

ritories with a numerous army. The city is beſieged, the lands laid waſte, the cattle ſlaughtered, the inhabitants deprived of all hopes of ſupplies or relief. However the Romans had diſpoſed their forces in ſuch a manner, that by this means, their walls, and the river, they ſeemed pretty ſecure againſt a ſudden aſſault. The greateſt danger was if the enemy ſhould paſs the bridge. This was prevented by the generous valour of Horatius Cocles, ſo called from having loſt an eye in a former action. In this criſis, his ſtation happened to be on the bridge, that mean of communication and paſſage to the city. The engagement began, the enemy are greatly ſuperior in numbers, the Roman generals being wounded are carried off the field, their troops obſerving it, are diſcouraged and intimidated, give way, and begin to fly to the city along the bridge. Horatius reproaches them with their cowardice, calling aloud to them, it was in vain to fly if they left the bridge behind, and that the enemy would enter the city with themſelves. When all his exhortations and upbraidings were in vain, and they had all paſſed the bridge in an unaccountable panic and terror, himſelf and two other brave and generous Romans, Spurius Lartius, and Titius Hermonius continued upon it, gallantly reſiſting the attempts of the enemy. At laſt, the two latter judging their own men to be out of danger, and their defenſive weapons being now rendered uſeleſs by continued ſtrokes, calmly and leiſurely withdrew: But Horatius would not thus quit his

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ſtation, although the conſuls and the reſt of the people, ſolicitous above all things to preſerve ſuch a man to his parents and his country, called to him from the city to retire. On the contrary, exhorting the conſuls and people to cut down the bridge behind him, he ſtill perſevered in guarding its entrance; his defence was his valour, his arms, and a mound of dead bodies. He even inſulted the enemy, reproaching them with their inſenſibility to liberty, their ſervility to kingly pride, their baſe attempts againſt the independence of freemen. They looked at one another with aſtoniſhment and admiration, at laſt with a mixture of ſhame and reſentment, they pour upon him a ſhower of all ſorts of weapons, ſpears, darts, large ſtones, even the ſwords and bucklers of the ſlain, thinking to overwhelm him by numbers and the impetuoſity of the ſhock. In the mean time, the noiſe of the bridge falling behind him, and the ſhouts of the Romans, united to inflame his courage. Having thus glorioufly effected his purpoſe, and ſtanding on the ſmall remains of the bridge: "O father Tiber, reverend deity, let me intreat you to receive into your propitious ſtream theſe arms and this ſoldier!" He then threw himſelf into the river, and notwithſtanding the inceſſant ſhowers of the enemy's weapons and various wounds, and the eddies and violent current of the river, he reached his friends on the oppoſite ſide without loſing any of his arms. His fellow-citizens receive him as one

of the heroes with ſongs and crowns; their gratitude is equal to his valour; lands are given him, a brazen ſtatue erected in his honour, and notwithſtanding the preſent ſcarcity, every perſon of either ſex preſent him with a day's ſubſiſtence, their numbers amounting to three hundred thouſand *. When ſuch are the rewards and excitements to valour and patriotiſm, no wonder the inſtances are ſtriking and frequent?

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, Porſenna perſevered in his hoſtile intentions, the depredations are extended ſtill farther into the country and the neighbourhood of Rome, and the war is turned into a ſiege or blockade. Hence the diſtreſs and ſcarcity is increaſed and aggravated. But in free and equal governments, the love of virtue, of glory, of public good, is an inexhauſtible ſource of defence and relief. The conduct of Mucius Scævola is a beautiful inſtance of this. Anxious for the honour and ſafety of his country, he was inflamed with a ſtrong deſire to effect its preſervation. Conſidering the great inequality between the force of the Romans and that of the enemy, he thought it in vain to hope for it from a ſucceſsful ſally, and ſhould the ſiege be continued, his fellow-citizens muſt inevitably periſh by famine. What reſource, what expedient, in a caſe of ſuch preſſing diſtreſs and difficulty? He could think of none but the death of the king. The attempt was juſtifiable by the laws of nature and

* Dionyſius Hal. lib. v. and Livy, lib. ii.

of

of reaſon. Force or ſtratagem were equally lawful againſt a ſupporter of tyrants, an enemy of freedom. He reſolved therefore to penetrate into the enemy's camp, and ſtab their king with his own hand. But being afraid of apprehenſion and ſeizure as a deſerter, ſhould he go without leave from the conſuls, or communicating his deſign to any one, he begs an audience of the ſenate, and addreſſes them to this purpoſe:

" Having a deſign to venture upon an undertaking, by which the city may be freed from great evils, I place great confidence in the ſucceſs of the action, and believe I ſhall eaſily effect it. But as to my own life, I have ſmall hopes of ſurviving the deed, or to ſay the truth, none at all. In expoſing myſelf to ſo great danger, I do not deſire that the elevation of mind, with which the hope of great things has inſpired me, ſhould be concealed from the world, if I ſhould happen to miſcarry in the undertaking; but rather for a great action to gain great applauſe, by which I ſhall exchange a mortal body for immortal glory. It is not ſafe to communicate my deſign to the people, leſt any one, for his own advantage, ſhould inform the enemy of a thing, which ought to be concealed with the ſame care as a ſecret myſtery. But you, who I am perſuaded will keep the ſecret inviolable, are the firſt and the only perſons to whom I diſcloſe it; and from you the reſt of the citizens will be informed of it at a proper ſeaſon. My enterpriſe is this: I propoſe to go to the camp of the Tyrrhenians as a deſer-

ter; if I am diſcovered by them and put to death, the number of the reſt of my countrymen, will be leſſened by the loſs of one citizen only; but, if I can enter the camp of the enemy, I undertake, before you, to kill their king; and when Porſenna is dead, the war will be at an end. As for myſelf, I ſhall be ready to ſuffer whatever heaven ſhall decree, when I reflect that you are privy to my deſign, and will bear witneſs of it to the people; but I go with an aſſurance, that a fate more honourable to my country will be my guide *".

The ſenate applaud his ſpirit and reſolution, he paſſes the river, and enters the camp with a dagger concealed under his clothes. Upon his arrival he haſtens into the middle of the crowd, near the tribunal. The men happened at that inſtant of time to be receiving their pay, and the king was ſitting with his ſecretary, both of them dreſſed pretty much in the ſame manner; the ſoldiers approach promiſcuouſly. Mucius, fearing to diſcover himſelf, ſhould he aſk which was Porſenna, and deceived and miſled by the enſigns of dignity, happens to ſtab the ſecretary inſtead of the king. Then, in attempting to make his eſcape, through the aſtoniſhed and trembling crowd, with his bloody dagger, he is ſeized upon by the guards and dragged back to the tribunal; where, notwithſtanding the terrible fate that await-

* Spelman's verſion is ſometimes uſed.

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ed him, more to be feared than apprehenſive himſelf, he ſaid, "I am a Roman citizen, my name Mucius. I, an enemy, would have ſlain an enemy, nor have I leſs courage to receive death than to inflict it. Both to do and to ſuffer great things is the part of a Roman—Nor have I alone engaged in this deſign againſt you. A numerous ſeries are ambitious of the ſame glory. If therefore it can afford you any ſatisfaction, be every moment apprehenſive for your life; the dagger and the foe will penetrate your moſt ſecret retirements. Such is the war denounced againſt you by my aſſociates. It is not a ſally, it is not a battle you have to fear. The conteſt is with yourſelf alone, and every time with an individual." The king at once inflamed with anger, and alarmed at the danger, threatens him with the puniſhment of fire, unleſs he diſcover the myſtery and whole ſeries of the conſpiracy. "Behold, ſaid he, that you may perceive and learn, how little the body is valued or regarded by thoſe who aſpire to illuſtrious actions;" at the ſame time thruſting his hand into the fire on the altar, and holding it there as if above the ſenſe of pain, and inſenſible to what he ſuffered; the king, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the action, immediately leaped from his ſeat, and ordered the young man to be removed: "Go, ſaid he, you who dare a more hoſtile action on yourſelf than on me. How ſhould I rejoice at a like inſtance of patriotiſm in one of my own people. I now diſmiſs you free, untouched, inviolate." Upon which Mucius, as if

expreſſing his thanks, "Since, ſaid he, you know how to honour valour, and that you may receive that advantage voluntarily, which you could not obtain by threats; know that three hundred of us, all of the principal families of Rome, have bound ourſelves by oath, to attempt your life in this way. Mine was the firſt lot. The reſt in their turn will ſeize their time and opportunity." This ſplendid action ſo wrought, and had ſuch an effect on king Porſenna, that he immediately offered propoſals of peace, withdrew his army, and abandoned the Tarquins *. Peace, tranquillity, plenty, and ſafety were reſtored to the Romans. The hero was honoured with a portion of the public lands.

For ſome time after the ſubverſion of the monarchy, and while they apprehended the return and re-eſtabliſhment of the Tarquins, the conſuls and ſenate were very moderate and equitable in the exerciſe of their new acquired power and authority. But after their fears were removed by the extinction of the tyrant and of his race [D], and their deſcendents ſucceeded to their conſideration without their experience, a party was formed in the ſenate of ambitious or wicked men, who aſpired at an unlimited power, and a licence to render all the other members of the ſtate rather the ſubjects than the citizens of the Commonwealth. This faction conſiſted partly of the ancient ſenators void of humanity and modera-

* Dionyſius Hal. lib. v. Livy, lib. ii.

tion, and who had rendered themſelves odious by having uſurped great tracts of the public lands, but chiefly of the young, daring and violent nobility, who, owing to ignorance and preſumption, chuſe always to think that birth and fortune give better pretenſions to authority and influence, than ſimple and unadorned merit and talents. Seduced by the love of power and a fooliſh diſdain of thoſe of inferior condition, a few young patricians of nobler ſentiments had entered into the ſame views. At the head of the latter was Coriolanus *, a perſon of great merit and talents, temperate, rigidly juſt, enterpriſing, equally qualified to excel in the ſenate and in the field. His diſappointment of the conſulſhip had alſo exaſperated him againſt the Plebeians. They had refuſed him that high magiſtracy, apprehenſive leſt a man of his reputation, ſentiments, boldneſs, and intrepidity, might attempt ſome innovation to the ſubverſion of the tribuneſhip, in a manner their guardian angel, and which they had juſt acquired: for the improvement of the Roman conſtitution was gradual, the conſequences of repeated abuſes and repeated remedies. But notwithſtanding the merit of this illuſtrious character, in other reſpects it was ſhaded and blemiſhed with great defects and imperfections, with pride, with arrogance, with obſtinacy; no mildneſs, no cheerfulneſs of behaviour, nothing winning or graceful in his manners; unforgiving, implacable. However, his

* Dionyſius, lib. vii. and viii.

piety

piety to his mother and love of glory were truly great and noble; for with regard to the latter, as his hiſtorian very ſenſibly and excellently obſerves, when young men acquire applauſe and an early reputation, if they have ſouls but feebly inflamed with ambition, their generous ardour is ſoon cooled and extinguiſhed, whereas honours conferred on a more firm and ſolid mind, animate and ſtrengthen it, and like a briſk gale, drive it on in purſuit of further glory. Such a character conſiders fame not as the reward of his preſent virtue, but as an earneſt he has given of his future atchievements, and is aſhamed to underlive the credit and reputation he has won, and not to outſhine his paſt illuſtrious actions. Coriolanus had a ſoul of this frame. He was ever endeavouring to excel himſelf, and continually engaged in ſome new exploit. He added one great action to another, and heaped trophies upon trophies, till it became the ſubject of a glorious conteſt among the generals (the laſt ſtill ſtriving with his predeceſſor) which ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh him, and ſpeak moſt highly in his favour.

It is alſo ſaid, that nothing gave him greater ſatisfaction, than the delight his mother ſeemed to take in hearing his praiſes and in ſeeing him crowned; embracing him at the ſame time, and ſhedding tears of joy and tranſport. He alſo aſpired to glory by arts of diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity, as well as by thoſe of valour and enterpriſe. Among other inſtances, an important

victory

victory over the Volſcians being chiefly owing to his ardour and example, the next morning the conſul Pliminius, aſcending the tribunal, the whole army being aſſembled, having firſt offered thankſgivings to the Gods for ſo great a victory, addreſſed himſelf to Marcius, and highly extolled him for the gallant part he had borne in the late action, and then deſired him, before any diviſion ſhould be made to others, to chuſe the tenth part of all the treaſures, and captives, and horſes, that had fallen into their hands, at the ſame time, firſt making him a preſent of a beautiful horſe moſt gorgeouſly capariſoned. This ſenſe and reward of merit in the conſul being highly applauded by all preſent, Marcius came forward and expreſſed his grateful acceptance of the horſe, and how much he was flattered by the commendations with which the conſul had been pleaſed to honour him, but as to the other things of value, conſidering them rather as mercenary pay than as the expreſſions of honour and eſteem, he declined them all, deſiring only to partake in common and equally with the reſt of the army. "However, I have one favour to beg of you, which I hope you will not deny me. Among the Volſcians, there was a particular friend of mine, a perſon of great virtue and merit, who is now become a captive, and thus reduced from a ſtate of liberty and affluence to one of poverty and ſervitude. This perſon has been highly unfortunate in various reſpects, but it will be no ſmall alleviation of his calamities and ſorrows, if, by my mediation, he can eſcape one at

at leaſt, that of being ſold to ſlavery. This noble inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs and affection, was followed with ſtill louder acclamations, and a far greater number extolled this generous reſolution, by which he ſhewed himſelf above all ſelfiſh and mercenary views, than had teſtified their admiration of his valour againſt the enemy. For even thoſe very men who envied him ſuch a crowd of honours, could not help acknowledging him ſtill worthy of greater for thus nobly declining them, and were more in love with that virtue of his which made him ſlight ſuch advantages, than with that whereby he had deſerved them." The reflection that follows, will ſtill more ſurpriſe certain modern readers. " For it is far more meritorious to make a right uſe of riches than of arms, and ſtill more noble and heroic to deſpiſe than to make a right uſe of them." The conſul and army finding it in vain to preſs their offers upon him, unanimouſly honoured him with the name and appellation of Coriolanus, a derivative of that of the city, in the taking of which he had born ſo diſtinguiſhed a part.

The inſtitutions of the Romans were excellent and admirable in every reſpect, but in nothing more ſo, than in thoſe acknowledgments and rewards, ſuch as the various kinds of crowns, &c. by which they inſpired, nouriſhed, and ſtrengthened, a love of praiſe, of glory, and of their country. The number of theſe flattering teſtimonies of merit, acquired by individuals, is quite aſtoniſhing. To ſhew the multiplicity and vari-

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ous ſpecies of them accumulated on himſelf, by one man, let us hear the gallant enumeration of Siccius Dentatus. We learn from Dionyſius Halycarnaſſenſis that this perſon was of a wonderful appearance, in the ſtrength of his age, being fifty-eight years old, a man of good ſenſe, and conſidering his profeſſion of a ſoldier, no inconſiderable ſpeaker. He was in great eſteem with the Plebeians, being himſelf one of that order, a ſtrenuous advocate for that juſteſt of laws the Agrarian [E], though paſt the age of ſervice, a voluntary defender of his country, with eight hundred others, who could plead the ſame exemption, but in a ſeaſon of extreme danger, choſe rather to follow his fortunes than remain inactive at home. Who can read the unjuſt ſlight put upon him by the conſul Romilius without indignation, who without admiration his noble and generous revenge, by ſaving both the conſul and army, though ſent purpoſely with his aged and brave companions to inevitable deſtruction, and afterwards his magnanimous forgiveneſs of Romilius, and remiſſion of his fine upon the change in his principles and conduct. Upon a certain occaſion, preſenting himſelf to the citizens, after having given various inſtances of force of body, ardour of courage, preference of the ſafety of others to his own, he thus proceeds:

"Such, fellow-citizens, are the brave actions that have diſtinguiſhed and raiſed me to commands. After I had gained an illuſtrious name, I hazarded my life in every other engagement, being afraid to extinguiſh and obliterate the honours and favours

favours I had received for my former actions; and from that time, I have always ſerved and undergone the toils of war, without fearing, or even conſidering any danger: by all which I have received rewards, ſpoils, crowns, and other honours from the conſuls: In a word, during the forty years I have continually ſerved, I fought about an hundred and twenty battles, and received forty-five wounds, all before and not one behind: Of theſe I happened to receive twelve in one day, when Herdonius the Sabine was in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs and the capitol. The rewards of valour beſtowed upon me are theſe; fourteen civic crowns, with which I have been crowned by thoſe I had ſaved in battle; one obſidional, for having raiſed a ſiege; and three mural, one for having firſt mounted the enemy's walls and taken poſſeſſion of them; and eight others I have been honoured with by the generals, for my behaviour in ſeveral battles: add to theſe, eighty golden collars, one hundred and ſixty bracelets of gold, eighteen pike ſtaves, and twenty-five rich gorgets, nine of which are the rewards of ſo many ſingle combats, in which I voluntarily engaged and overcame thoſe who challenged any of our men." Where ſuch excitements to glory and patriotiſm were deviſed and panted after, when ſoldiers had ſuch bodies, ſuch ardour, ſuch reſolution, ſuch a thirſt after fame unſubdued, unſatiated and burning, even in advanced years, no wonder the Roman armies were invincible, no wonder the conqueſt of the world was the reward and fruits of

their

their virtue and valour. Notwithſtanding all theſe ſervices, theſe labours, theſe dangers, theſe wounds, theſe honours, when the Romans had been deceived out of their liberties, and a villainous decemvirate or oligarchy had uſurped the ſupreme power, this generous and gallant old officer fell a ſacrifice, by a moſt infamous aſſaſſination, to their wicked and abominable domination and tyranny.

Moſt abſurd and unaccountable opinions are often adopted and inculcated by ſuperſtition. Yet we muſt not be ſurpriſed, if the moſt virtuous and wiſeſt nations in other reſpects are ſometimes influenced or infatuated by them. This ſpecies of deluſion is owing to various cauſes, improper to be now inſiſted on. The following extraordinary inſtance of contempt of death, love of glory, and of public good, though built on a foundation of this kind, is not therefore the leſs worthy of our applauſe and admiration. Similar notions have prevailed in all countries where ſcience and philoſophy have made but little progreſs, or where the light of the Goſpel has not yet ariſen; yet ſtill the principle is always noble and generous.

The Latins were long a formidable enemy to Rome. Of how many victories, of how many triumphs, did they afford the ſubject, till they preferred being friends and allies to the chance and conſequences of enmity and hoſtility. During one of their many wars with the Romans, the latter being in great danger of a defeat in an important

portant action, in order to reanimate their courage, and insure the victory, the consul Decius, who commanded the left wing, called aloud to M. Valerius, "O Valerius! it is necessary to have recourse to the assistance of the Gods. Come, thou common pontiff of the Roman people, dictate the words by which I must devote myself for the legions." The Pontiff (then) orders him to put on the gown called Prætexta, and veiling his head, holding his hand out of the gown to the lower part of his face, and standing with a javelin under his feet, to say, "Ye immortal Gods! supreme over ourselves and the enemy, I intreat and implore, that you will vouchsafe valour and victory to the Romans, and that you will involve their enemies in affright, terror and death. Agreeably to the words I have rehearsed, so I devote, together with myself, the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, to the earth and to the infernal Gods, for the sake of the republic, the army, the legions, the allies, of the Roman people *." Having put forth this prayer, he ordered the lictors to go to T. Manlius, and acquaint him instantly, that he had devoted himself for the army. He then mounted his horse in complete armour, and rushed into the thickest of the enemy and the throng of battle. Such was the power of superstition on the minds of the Romans, that the conflict was renewed by them with a terrible fury and desperate resolution, and the Latins intirely worsted and

* Livy, lib. viii. cap. 9.

destroyed

deſtroyed. The conſul Decius, after having made a great ſlaughter, fell covered with a thouſand wounds. As the virtues of illuſtrious perſons are ſometimes admired and emulated by their deſcendants, in an engagement againſt a numerous army of Gauls, and on a like emergency, the ſon of the above hero, gave a ſimilar inſtance of valour, generoſity, public ſpirit, and contempt of death.

Though Aulus Gellius be an inſipid and unintereſting compiler, yet we are indebted to him for ſome facts and fragments which are curious and worthy of peruſal. In a paſſage from Cato's treatiſe, De Originibus, or of Antiquities, he relates an inſtance of valour, love of glory and of our country, and contempt of death, not in an illuſtrious individual, a conſul, or general, whoſe motives are ſo much ſtronger than thoſe of common and ordinary men, but in a ſimple tribune, and no fewer than four hundred ſoldiers of inferior rank. It is to this purpoſe. In Sicily, during the firſt Punic war, both the Roman and Carthaginian army being in the field, the commander of the latter had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the heights and advantageous ſituations. On the contrary, the circumſtances of the Romans were very critical and dangerous. This induced Q. Cæcidius, a tribune, to come to the conſul, and point out the inevitable deſtruction of the army, alleging, "it could not poſſibly be prevented, unleſs he orders a detachment of four hundred to go and ſeize a certain knoll. Indeed, when the

enemy perceive your deſign, they will ſend the moſt reſolute and forward of their troops to oppoſe and repulſe them, their whole attention will be engroſſed by this buſineſs, and all the four hundred will be inevitably cut in pieces. But in the mean time, while the enemy are engaged in their deſtruction, you will have an opportunity of extricating the army out of their preſent ſituation." The conſul replies, "your advice, indeed, is gallant and provident, but, Who is the man that will lead thoſe four hundred againſt troops ſo formidably poſted?" The tribune ſaid, "If you can find no other perſon, make uſe of me in this emergency, I chearfully reſign my life for your ſake and our country's." The conſul expreſſes his thanks, and extolls his generous reſolution. The tribune and the four hundred proceed to certain death. The enemy are wrapt in aſtoniſhment at their intrepidity, and wait their purpoſe in ſilent expectation. But when it appeared, that their intention was to ſeize and poſſeſs themſelves of the knoll, the Carthaginian general ſends againſt them, both from his infantry and cavalry, the moſt intrepid and determined veterans of his whole army.

The Romans are environed on all ſides, yet gallantly defend themſelves. The conteſt is long dubious, at length numbers prevail. The whole four hundred are ſlaughtered to a man, and ſtabbed with ſwords, or pierced with miſſive weapons. In the mean time, during the tumult of the action the conſul gains the ſafe and high grounds. Cato's words

words are, " The favour of the immortal Gods was propitious to the virtue and valour of the tribune. He was found among the ſlain weltering in his blood, but yet breathing, and notwithſtanding his many wounds and loſs of blood, none of them was mortal, he even recovered and lived, to ſhew himſelf afterwards upon various occaſions, a good man and a true lover of his country." Cato compares him to Leonidas, and thinks him not inferior. The Greek fell with his companions; but the Roman ſurvived. The Roman army was preſerved: there was no Greek army to ſave. All Greece has adorned and decorated the virtues of her hero, with every emblem and memorial of honour and praiſe, with monuments, ſtatues, eulogies, pictures, hiſtories †; but the glory of the tribune has been in no proportion to his merit, who acted the ſame part and yet ſurvived the action.

There is no character in Roman hiſtory which we contemplate with more complacence and ſatisfaction, than that of P. Cornelius Scipio. Indeed, what a pattern, what a model of every amiable quality, of every exalted virtue? What politeneſs, what affability, what addreſs! What piety to a parent, to a brother, what continence, what temperance, what generoſity, what love of glory and of his country! If ſuch were the noble fruits of a conſtant peruſal of the Cyropedia, and of the

† Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. cap. 7.

other writings of Xenophon, who would not have thoſe divine volumes for ever in their hands? Very different from modern public characters, he paid a deference even to decency and the prejudices of the people. He thought men were to be governed by inſinuation, addreſs, perſuaſion, not by contempt, by arrogance, by brutal violence [F]. He ſaved the life of his father in battle, at the hazard of his own. He obtained the magiſtracy of Ædile for his brother (who was not affected by the people), by embarking in the conteſt his own pretenſions and reputation. Who can read without a pleaſing delight, the amiable artifice, and the tender ſolicitude, for his mother's approbation in that affectionate experiment? Who can behold her tears of rapture on the ſucceſs, without wiſhing to mingle his own? The conduct of this illuſtrious perſon was uniformly great through every part of his uſeful, honourable, and glorious life. He in a manner ſaved his country ſo early as at the battle of Cannæ. After that fatal action, in which there fell five and twenty thouſand of the Romans, with the conſul Publius, eighty ſenators and thirty others, either of conſular, prætorian, or ædilitian rank, many began to deſpair of the republic. In this alarming criſis, P. Furius Philus, whoſe father was of conſular rank, comes to Appius Claudius and P. C. Scipio, on whom the chief command had juſt been unanimouſly conferred, though but military tribunes, and who were deliberating on the meaſures to be purſued, telling them, it was in vain to nouriſh empty hopes, that the common-

commonwealth was undone beyond a remedy, for certain young men, perſons of noble family, among whom L. Cecilius Metellus was the principal, conſidering Italy as loſt, looked toward the ſea, and began to talk of applying to ſome king for ſuccour. This aggravation of calamity was heard by all preſent with horror and aſtoniſhment, who thought a council ſhould be immediately called. On the contrary, Scipio inſiſted, that in ſuch extremity, it was a time to dare and to act, not to conſult and deliberate; that thoſe who wiſhed the preſervation of the republic, ſhould immediately take their arms and follow him, that no where ſo truly, as where ſuch meaſures were intended, was the camp of the enemy. He hurries, a few accompanying him, to the tent or quarters of Metellus, and finding the truth of what had been told him, and ſuch an aſſembly there of young men as had been deſcribed, drawing his ſword over their heads, "It is my determined reſolution, neither to abandon the Roman republic myſelf, nor to ſuffer it to be abandoned by any other Roman citizen. If I, knowingly, violate this oath, may all the immortal Gods pour their heavieſt vengeance on me and mine, my houſe, my progeny *. I require you Cæcilus, and all here preſent, to take this oath; he who refuſes, let him know, that this ſword is drawn againſt him." So great was their

* Livy, lib. xxii. cap. 53.

terror mixed with admiration, that they all immediately ſwore. The propoſers of this traitorous and puſillanimous advice underwent afterward a public, ignominious cenſure: they were cited to defend themſelves, and having nothing to allege, their horſes were taken from them, they were degraded from their tribe, and all ſubjected to an ignominious tax.

After the great defeat of the Romans in Spain, in which the two Scipios were alſo cut off, the ſenate and people were in the utmoſt terror and conſternation; for they thought themſelves as much intereſted in the preſervation of that country Spain, as of Italy itſelf. A day was appointed for the election of a perſon to ſucceed the Scipios in the command of that province; but notwithſtanding the looks, the wiſhes, the gloomy and indignant ſorrow of the people, none of the patricians of ability and experience ſeemed inclined to offer themſelves. In this emergency, not intimidated by the deſpondency of the experienced, nor the difficulties of the enterpriſe, nor the diſaſtrous fate of his father, and of his uncle Scipio, Publius, though but four and twenty years old, offered himſelf to the votes of the centuries. The people beheld him with ſhouts of favour and confidence; he was elected not only by the unanimous conſent and ſuffrage of the centuries, but even of every individual. The union of minds upon this occaſion was ſo extraordinary, that it was imputed to a divine impulſe: for as ſoon as the general ardour and tranſport began to ſubſide, and to be ſucceeded

ceeded by cool and deliberate reflection, many were apprehenſive upon account of the youth of the perſon, ſome even dreaded the fortunes of his houſe, and the name of one going into a country ſo fatal to his family, and where the war was to be conducted among the tombs and monuments of his father and of his uncle. When Scipio perceived this ſudden change and anxiety in the people, deſiring to be heard, he expreſſed himſelf with ſo much good ſenſe and elevation of mind with regard to his own age, the nature of his powers and command, and the war to be carried on, that he ſoon revived that ardour and thoſe ſanguine hopes which had begun to cool and ſubſide.

His conduct in his province was in every reſpect ſuitable to the great things that were expected from him. Reflecting on the errors of former commanders, he formed a plan of his own, which neither the enemy, nor his own troops, were able to penetrate*. He baffled the Carthaginians in all their attempts to obſtruct his progreſs and the ſucceſs of his arms, by addreſs, by clemency, by generoſity, by humanity: he gained over to his own intereſts the various barbarian ſovereigns of the country. As the ſeveral inſtances of theſe virtues proceeded from his love of glory, of an exalted reputation, and of the public eſteem, it will not certainly be below our pains to enter into ſome little detail with regard to them.

* Polybius, lib. x. cap. 2.

The humane ſpirit of chriſtianity being unknown to the ancients, their laws of enmity and war permitted the ſlaughter, or ſlavery of captives taken in battle. So ſuperior was Scipio to theſe barbarous maxims; ſo mild, benevolent, and generous, was his nature, that in the ſiege and acquiſition of new Carthage (which entirely ruined the influence of the Carthaginians in that country, and enabled Scipio afterward to transfer the war to Afric and to their own doors), that he abhorred making uſe of ſo brutal a licence, and by the forbearance exalted his own character and that of his country, increaſed the number of his friends and well-wiſhers, and diminiſhed that of his enemies and oppoſers.

The number of priſoners that were taken, amounted to about ten thouſand. Scipio orders the citizens, their wives and children, to ſeparate themſelves from the labourers, manufacturers, and handicrafts. Having then exhorted the former to embrace the intereſt of the Romans, and never to be unmindful of the favour he was going to confer upon them, he ſent them unmoleſted to their own homes. They proſtrated themſelves before him, burſting into tears, but into tears of joy, from a happineſs they ſo little expected. With regard to the others, conſiſting of about two thouſand, he told them, they were now the public ſervants of the Roman people, but if they gave any proofs of attachment and activity in their ſervice, according to their different trades and callings,

callings, they ſhould be rewarded with their liberty after the expiration of the war. With the moſt vigorous and robuſt of the grown men and youths, ſelected from the other priſoners, he ſupplied the deficiencies in his gallies, promiſing them their liberty likewiſe upon the ſame conditions. This conduct with regard to the captives of new Carthage, gained both himſelf and the republic the friendſhip and confidence of the citizens, and by the hopes of liberty which he gave to the artiſans *, he inſpired them with great ardour for his ſervice; not to mention his naval force, which he increaſed near an half by his mild and humane conduct.

He then ordered the hoſtages to be called; conſiſting of the children and kinſmen of the principal ſtates, cities, and princes of the country. He told them the fortune of war had put them in the power of the Roman people, who were more deſirous of gaining men by favour than by fear, and to be connected with foreign nations by the ties of honour and friendſhip, than by the bond of a diſpiriting ſubjection. He flattered and careſſed the children one after another, promiſing in order to conſole them, that in a very little time they ſhould ſee their parents, giving them little preſents ſuitable to their ſex and age; to the girls pictures and bracelets, to the boys poinards and ſwords. As to the others, exhorting them not to be caſt down, he deſired their names, with the cities they belonged to, ſending meſſengers thither

* Polybius, lib. x. p. 823. Edit. Caſaubon.

for

for every one to come and receive their own. If by chance, any ambaſſadors of thoſe ſtates or cities were preſent, he immediately reſtored thoſe that pertained to them. The reſt were committed to the tender care and attention of the quæſtor Flaminius.

While Scipio was engaged in theſe amiable and humane offices, the wife of Mardonius, brother to Indibilis, one of the kings of the country, came out of the crowd of hoſtages, and throwing herſelf at Scipio's feet, conjured him with tears in her eyes, that the female captives might be treated with more regard and decency than while in the power of the Carthaginians. Scipio was greatly affected at ſeeing, in this poſture before him, a lady advanced in years, and by her manner, of high rank, and deſired to know the cauſe of her anxiety. She making no reply, he called thoſe who had charge of the women, who ſaid the Carthaginians had let them want for nothing. Notwithſtanding, the lady ſtill continued embracing his knees, and repeating the ſame requeſt †. Scipio embarraſſed, and ſuſpecting the truth of what had been told him, and that the women had been neglected, endeavoured to conſole the ladies, aſſuring them, that he would name other perſons to attend their neceſſities, who ſhould ſupply them abundantly with whatever they wanted. After a minute's ſilence, the lady replied, you do not comprehend me, if you imagine we threw ourſelves at your

† Polybius, lib. x. p. 826.

feet

feet for ſuch a trifle. Then Scipio underſtood what the lady would ſay, and obſerving the youth and beauty of the daughters of Indibilis, and of ſeveral other ladies of rank; he could not refrain from ſhedding a flood of tears. A ſingle word of this lady ſufficed to make him comprehend all that thoſe perſons were expoſed to ſuffer. He then ſignified to her, that he knew her meaning, and taking her hand, conſoled her and her companions in misfortune, engaging to watch over them all with as much care and anxiety as if they were his own ſiſters, or his own children.

Immediately after this, we meet with a beautiful inſtance of ſelf-command, and ſuperiority to ſenſual gratification. Some young ſoldiers, knowing their general's ſenſibility to female beauty, brought into his preſence a young lady, ſo exquiſitely formed, that wherever ſhe walked, ſhe attracted the eyes and admiration of every one. Scipio greatly ſtruck with the charms of this young lady, ſaid, "Were I a private perſon, you could not make me a more acceptable preſent, but in my preſent ſituation, ſuch indulgences are very unbecoming." He then enquired concerning the condition of the virgin, and finding ſhe was betrothed to a young Celtiberian, by name Albacius, who was deſperately in love with her, he ordered him to be called, and ſaid, "When your ſpouſe was brought to me by my ſoldiers, and I heard of your paſſion for her, which her beauty makes credible, and as nothing would give me ſo great

great ſatisfaction, as an honourable and legal connection of the ſame kind, did the affairs of the republic permit it, I therefore, out of ſympathy, as we are both young men, favour your wiſhes as far as I am able. Your miſtreſs is pure and unpolluted by me, and I reſtore her to you inviolate, and worthy of us both. Let me only deſire this return from you, be a friend to the Roman people, and if you believe me a good man, ſuch as many of your nation knew my father and my uncle, know there are many like us in the Roman ſtate, and that there is not at this day any people in the world, that you would leſs chuſe to be an enemy to you and yours, or more a friend." The young man tranſported with joy, ſeizes Scipio's hand, intreating all the Gods to reward him, it not being in his power to make him an adequate return, or agreeable to his wiſhes. The parents and relations of the young lady are then called, who upon account of the diſtintereſted and generous delivery of the virgin, for whoſe ranſom they had brought a conſiderable ſum of money, began to entreat Scipio to receive it from them as a preſent; inſiſting, that ſuch compliance would not be leſs grateful to them than the inviolate reſtoration of the virgin. As they perſiſted in their intreaties, Scipio conſented, and deſired the money to be laid before him; and having called Albacius, ſaid to him, "Beſides the portion you are to receive from your father, accept of this mar-

riage

riage preſent from me*." They all returned to their own homes overjoyed, full of the praiſes and virtues of Scipio, the whole country confeſſing, that a young man, or rather a God, was come among them, conquering and ſubduing all things not only by his arms, but by benevolence and generoſity [G].

After the action near Bæcula in Spain, we meet with a like inſtance of clemency, humanity, and good policy. The number of the ſlain was about eight thouſand, of the priſoners ten thouſand. All the Spaniards he diſmiſſed to their ſeveral homes without ranſom. As to the Africans, he ordered them to be diſpoſed of by the quæſtor. That officer finding among the latter, a youth of great beauty, and ſaid to be of the royal family, gave it to ſome one in charge to conduct him to Scipio. The general aſking who, and of what family and parentage he was, and what at his early time of life had led him to the camp; he replied, He was of Numidia, and his name Meſſiva: that being left an orphan, he had been brought up by Gala, king of the Numidians, and his maternal grandfather: that he had paſſed into Spain with his uncle Maſiniſſa, who was lately come thither with a body of cavalry to the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians. That, forbidden by Maſiniſſa, upon the account of his youth, he had never before been preſent at a battle. That on the day of the action with the Romans, he

* Livy, lib. xxvi. cap. 51, 52.

had

had ſecretly, without the knowledge of his uncle, armed himſelf, and come to the battle on horſeback; that there his horſe falling with him, he had been thrown headlong from his ſeat, and taken priſoner by the Romans. Soon afterwards Scipio having diſpatched ſome neceſſary buſineſs, ordered him to be called to his tent, and then aſked him, if he wiſhed to return to Maſiniſſa; the youth weeping with joy, ſaid, He ſurely deſired it; he then made him a preſent of a gold ring, the emblem of nobility, a tunick, a Spaniſh ſword, and an horſe adorned with a golden bit *, and diſmiſſed him with a troop of horſe ordered to accompany and attend him as far as he thought proper.

After a fifteen years war, and during the fifth of his own adminiſtration, having driven the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, and judging it adviſable upon account of his views with regard to Africa, to gain the friendſhip and alliance of Syphax, the moſt powerful prince and king of Maſæſydia, a country very conveniently ſituated to favour his deſigns, himſelf and Lælius, leaving the command of his army, &c. to the care of his principal captains, embarked in two ſmall veſſels for the coaſt of Africa. He happened to land at Syphax's court, at the very moment with Aſdrubal, whom he had juſt driven out of Spain. This application from the commanders in chief of two of the greateſt nations in the world, was very

* Livy, lib. xxvii. cap. 19.

flattering to Syphax, and he was ſenſible of the diſtinction. He received them both very courteouſly, placing the two rival generals on the ſame couch at table. But ſo great was the politeneſs and addreſs of Scipio, that he conciliated the eſteem and regard not only of Syphax, a barbarian prince, and unacquainted with Roman manners, but alſo of his moſt determined and inveterate enemy, who confeſſed, That he thought more highly of him in compariſon of himſelf, in that conference, than in the fields of battle, and the operations of war; ſo that, in his opinion, the Carthaginians ſhould not ſo much inquire how the Spains were loſt, as how Africa was to be retained and preſerved. That it was not with a deſign to amuſement, and to viſit the landſcape of the coaſt and ſhore (as thoſe who envied him, alleged), that ſo great a Roman general, leaving a newly ſubdued province, and the charge of his armies, had paſſed over into Africa in two ſmall veſſels, and expoſed himſelf in an enemy's country, and put himſelf in regal power, in untried fidelity, but with a view to the total acquiſition of Africa. For he had long revolved the conqueſt in his mind; had long openly declared, that not as Hannibal had carried on the war in Italy, would Scipio conduct it in Africa. The iſſue was worthy the danger, for concluding a treaty with Syphax † (the principal cauſe of his future glorious ſucceſs) he re-embarked and returned to new Carthage in

† Livy, lib. xviii. cap. 18.

four

four days, from his abſence. The beauty, the clemency, the humanity, the politeneſs, the addreſs, the great talents and genius, of this illuſtrious character, will be a ſufficient apology for dwelling ſo long upon it. Thoſe who can love, thoſe who can admire, thoſe who can wiſh to emulate ſuch virtues, will never think it tedious. For the honour of human nature, would to God, that hiſtory were crowded with Scipios, not polluted with the moſt odious and peſtilent models and characters, of kings without diſcernment or knowledge, of magiſtrates, of miniſters, and generals, without principle, or the feelings of men!

In the former part of this Eſſay, we had juſt reaſon to admire the magnanimity and patriot ſpirit of the Spartans after the fatal defeat at Leuctra. That of the Romans after the great overthrow at Cannæ, followed with a general defection of their allies, is equally worthy of applauſe and imitation. Inſtead of being dejected, or thinking of ſubmiſſion, or of offering terms of accommodation, all ranks and conditions in the ſtate, the young and the aged, men, women, and children, gave the nobleſt proofs of zeal, diſintereſtedneſs, and fortitude. All the maxims of the republic, how rigid and ſevere ſoever, were revived and enforced. As was mentioned above, the propoſal of C. Metellus and his companions was ſtigmatiſed and puniſhed; thoſe equivocators of their oaths to Hannibal, who, when allowed

to

to depart upon promiſe to return, thought to fulfil them by returning on a frivolous pretence, were degraded and rendered infamous. All the young men who had avoided the ſervice during the four laſt years, and who could plead neither ſickneſs, nor any juſt cauſe of abſence, were ſeverely cenſured. In ſhort, all who were noted by the cenſors, were ſentenced to ſerve on foot, and to be ſent into Sicily, to the remains of the army defeated at Cannæ, to undergo the ſame ignominy, that of not being diſcharged, till the enemy ſhould be driven out of Italy. And when the cenſors, upon account of the poverty of the treaſury, ſeemed to decline all thoughts of the uſual repairs and other public expences of the city, the contractors upon thoſe occaſions came to them, beſeeching them to proceed juſt as if the treaſury were full, and offering to wait for payment till the concluſion of the war. The maſters of the ſlaves alſo, who had been made free at Beneventum by Tiberius Gracchus, though offered the purchaſe-money, generouſly declined accepting it till the ſame time. Theſe noble efforts in ſupport of public credit, deſcended even lower. Even widows and orphans brought and depoſited their monies in the treaſury, and all the army above the degree of a common ſoldier, refuſed to accept of pay, ſtigmatizing with the name of mercenaries thoſe who were ſo ſordid and mean *.

* Livy, lib. xxiv. cap. 18.

So great is the effeminacy and corruption of the times we live in, that upon account of the virtue, talents and application, required to accompliſh and atchieve actions of merit and glory, and to obtain the eſteem, affection, and admiration, of the public and of our country, thoſe who are ſo ſottiſh and ridiculous as to be ambitious, without the leaſt pretenſion to influence and diſtinction, have the ignorant and ſilly petulance and effrontery, to pretend to undervalue and ſlight popularity and the eſteem of the nation, as below the wiſhes and attention of a man of the world and of affairs. How oppoſite were the ſentiments of the wiſeſt and greateſt of the Romans in this reſpect! They even plainly told their fellow-citizens, that their eſteem and affection were the excitement and motive to their moſt illuſtrious actions; and next to the approbation of the Divinity can nobler ones be imagined? Hear one of the beſt and moſt eminent of them to this purpoſe.

" For, fellow citizens, if you will be ingenuous, and make uſe of your penetration, you will find, that none of us come hither without our motives. All of us who addreſs you in public, aſk ſome favour or other, nor does any one ever ſtand up in any affair unleſs with the hopes of obtaining ſomething. Even I myſelf, who now endeavour to perſuade you to improve your revenues, that you may with the greater facility conſult your own intereſt and the proſperity of the commonwealth, do not ſtand up diſintereſted; but deſire of you

not money, but honour, and a good reputation †." The ſame paſſion has and will ever burn brighteſt in the beſt, the nobleſt, and moſt capable natures. Was not the ſame generous motive the ſource of all the beautiful and benevolent actions of the other, the Æmilian Scipio? What elſe was the cauſe of his amiable expoſtulation with Polybius, when he apprehended his poor opinion of him, and ſuffered under his ſeeming neglect? What of his deſire of the reputation of prudence, temperance, and continence; notwithſtanding the licentiouſneſs and diſſolution of the manners of the Roman youth? And of the fame of generoſity, of a noble diſintereſtedneſs, of the moſt beautiful uſe of riches? What of his tender piety to his divorced mother Papiria, when, upon the death of his adopted mother Emilia, he preſented her with his valuable, rich, and magnificent legacy, of all her jewels, plate, wardrobe, equipages, ſlaves, domeſtics, &c.? Of his generoſity with regard to the payment of the portions of the two daughters of Scipio, his adopted grandfather, ſo long before the legal term, which even excited the admiration and ſurpriſe of Tiberius Gracchus, and of Scipio Naſica? Of his generous affection to his brother Fabius, whoſe circumſtances were not ſo brilliant as his own, in reſigning to him his ſhare of the ſucceſſion of their father, amounting to above ſixty talents, and of his aſſiſting the ſame brother in giving a ſpectacle of gladiators upon the death of his father, by de-

† Aulus Gellius, lib. xi. c. 10.

fraying half the expence? Of the ſame nobleneſs of nature, with regard to his ſiſters, when he might have claimed both the rich legacy he had given them, mentioned above, and their own proper fortune *? Courage and bodily vigour being in great repute at Rome, upon account of their utility in war, the ſame love of praiſe made him earneſt to acquire them by the purſuit and hunt of wild beaſts of chace and of prey. The ſame generous deſire of eſteem, was the foundation, in a later period, of all Pompey's numerous glories. This made him, when he had choſen the line of arms, ſubmit to every hardſhip, in order to acquire experience. Hence his ſuperiority to indolence and effeminacy; hence the day and the night employed in what concerned his profeſſion; hence his abſtemious life, his forbearance of the bath, of the couch at table, hence his meal taken on his feet, hence the greater part of the night ſpent in reading and meditation †.

We ſhewed above, in the inſtance of C. Gracchus, how openly and candidly the great men of Rome profeſſed their deſire of eſteem and of praiſe. From a like generous motive proceeded the following beautiful example of diſintereſtedneſs, continence, and regard for the public intereſt, in the ſame illuſtrious character. It is contained in part of a ſpeech to the people (preſerved

* Polybius, art. lxxiii. Virt. et Vit. et Diodorus Siculus, lib. xxvi. who copies Polybius.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. xxxvii.

by

by Aulus Gellius), upon his return from the government of Sardinia. Let thoſe who divide our revenues among them by places, by penſions, by reverſions, and other ſecret and indirect methods of proſtitution and venality †; let thoſe who by their extortions, murders, cruelties, and an unnatural, unprevented, aggravated famine, have left the Engliſh name in abhorrence and execration in India, and who fled from this country, the meaneſt, moſt neceſſitous, and moſt abject of mankind, to return to inſult us with their abſurd and ſottiſh oſtentation and vanity, and to ſupplant us, by the reward of their crimes and enormities, in our boroughs, counties, and thus in the very legiſlature itſelf; let, I ſay, ſuch wretches read it, and if they yet know how to bluſh, or have any remains of conſcience, bluſh ſcarlet, and hate and abhor themſelves.

"My conduct in the province, has been adapted to promote your intereſt and reputation, not my own private emolument, or the gratifications of ſenſe and appetite. No Epicurean cook was ever admitted into my ſervice; no laced and powdered boys ever waited at my table. No indecent word or expreſſion ever made your children bluſh there. I never affronted the honourable connection of marriage, by living publicly with a forbidden companion." And a little

† No cenſure is here intended of thoſe who accept the neceſſary offices of the ſtate, from public and diſintereſted views. On the contrary, they are entitled to our beſt eſteem, and cannot do our country more eſſential ſervice.

after, "Such has been the manner of my adminiſtration, that no one can charge me with having received even the pooreſt trifle by way of preſent, or having put any one to the leaſt expence upon my account. I paſſed two years in the province; if any woman of ſuſpected reputation ever entered my doors; if any one's favourite domeſtic was ever ſolicited by me, believe me the vileſt and moſt infamous of mankind. If ſuch has been my delicacy with regard to the domeſtics of others, hence judge in what manner I muſt have lived with your children;" and again, "So that, fellow-citizens, my purſe, which, upon leaving Rome, I carried full, upon my return, I brought home empty *."

Would to God I could contribute to revive, and reſtore to credit, theſe noble and generous ſentiments in the breaſts of my fellow-citizens! Whatever the ſucceſs of this feeble effort may be, I have made it with the moſt upright and beſt intentions. Indeed, I have collected this treatiſe, to preſerve myſelf as well as others from the contagion of the manners in which we live. To revive a ſpirit of exertion, and a deſire of national eſteem. To make us aſhamed of the indolence, the diſſipation, the effeminacy of the preſent times; of pretending to reſpect and conſideration, without merit or talents, to offices of truſt and emolument, without knowledge, application, experience, or public confidence; to a boundleſs and

* Aulus Gellius, lib. xv. cap. 12.

ruinous

ruinous paſſion for all the works of taſte, elegance, and magnificence, with very faint and languid deſires for the reputation of private generoſity, public diſintereſtedneſs and integrity, humanity, magnanimity, contempt of frivolous enjoyments, of oſtentatious advantages. To rouſe us to prefer the pleaſures and enjoyments of the mind, and of the heart, to thoſe of ſenſe and appetite, the palate, the touch, the eye, the ear [H]. Alas! deluded, miſtaken voluptuaries, can ye be ſo weak, ſo ignorant, as to imagine that the momentary, the feveriſh gratifications of diſſipation, vanity, refinement, luxury, are to be compared, and put in competition with that expanſion and elevation of ſoul, that glows in the veins, in the nerves, and in the minds of the benevolent, the active, the diſintereſted, the upright? Can ye not perſuade yourſelves, that the ſum of happineſs, of true enjoyment and ſatisfaction, contained in the lives of any of the illuſtrious characters we have been paſſing in review, was not infinitely greater, more genuine, more continued, and conſtant, more valuable and deſirable in every reſpect, than that of all the ſenſualiſts, of the ſlaves of their luſts and vices, of ancient or modern times, of all the ſelfiſh, the effeminate, the indolent, the mercenary, the vain and oſtentatious creatures, or pageants, that have infeſted and diſhonoured, or continue to infeſt and diſhonour both reaſon and human nature?

NOTES.

I.

Note [A], p. 194.

L' Hiſtoire de l' Europe eſt devenue un immenſe proces verbal de contrats, de marriage, de généalogies et de titres diſputes, qui repandent par tout autant d' obſcurité que de ſechereſſe, et qui etouffent les grands événemens, la connoiſſance des loix, et celles des mœurs, objets plus dignes de l' attention. Œuvres de M. Voltaire, vol. ix. p. 114. Edit. 4to. Geneve, 1769.

Note [B], p. 196.

IN the Eaſt, the natural ſoil of deſpotiſm, there is no ſuch paſſion as love or attachment to a community or country. Nay, ſo great is the indifference of the natives in this reſpect, that La Loubere ſays, in his judicious account of Siam, " Les Siamois, que le Roy du Pegu aura pris en guerre demeureront tranquilles dans le Pegu, a vingt lieues des frontiéres de Siam; et ils y cultiveront les terres, que le Roy du Pegu leur aura données, ſans qu' aucun ſouvenir de leur païs leur faſſe hair leur nouvelle ſervitude. Et il en eſt de même des Peguians, qui ſont dans le royaume de Siam." Vol. i. p. 411.

Note [C], p. 222.

SO juſt is the obſervation of Lord Shafteſbury, " It belongs to men of ſlaviſh principles, to affect a ſuperiority over the vulgar, and to deſpiſe the multitude.

The lovers of mankind reſpect and honour conventions and ſocieties of men." Vol. i. p. 76.

NOTE [D], p. 223.

SEE what Xenophon ſays of Cyrus's love of praiſe in the Cyropedia paſſim. And with regard to being beloved by the people and our country, " Τοσουτον δε τι αγαθον κρινω εγωγε [φιλεσθαι] ειναι, ὥσε νομιζω τω ονὶ αυτομαΐα αγαθα τω φιλουμενω γιγνεσθαι ϗ παρα θεων ϗ παρα ανθρωπων. Hiero, c. 3. § 5. Edit. Wells.

NOTE [E], p. 224.

SEE what Xenophon ſays of Teleutias, Gr. Hiſt. lib. v. c. i. § 4. Edit. Wells. The whole mind and ſoul of the writer ſhines forth ſo beautifully in the paſſage, that I cannot help giving it. " When Hierax came to ſucceed Teleutias in the command of the Lacedemonian fleet, and the latter went down to the Strand to embark on his return home, there was none of the ſoldiers and mariners who did not embrace and kiſs his hands, and expreſs the fondeſt attachments for him. One crowned him with a garland, another with a riband, and if any were too late to take their leave, yet even when his veſſel was on ſail, they threw garlands and crowns after him into the ſea, wiſhing and praying him every ſatisfaction and happineſs." The hiſtorian continues, " I am ſenſible, that in this narration I have given no account of any thing memorable, either as to vaſtneſs of expence, or imminency of danger, or ſingularity of enterpriſe. But I thought it well worth the conſideration of every perſon, by what methods Teleutias thus diſpoſed to him thoſe ſubject to his command; for an atchievement of this nature is far to be preferred in narration, to the greateſt incurred dangers, or the greateſt riches acquired." The excellent and infallible

means,

means, or method, is given by Teleutias himſelf in a ſpeech to the forces. Lib. v. c. i. § 14, &c.

NOTE [F], p. 249.

THE manner of thinking of the females of monarchy, (even of the beſt and moſt accompliſhed of them) is ſomewhat different; "Eh, mon dieu, les affaires publiques nous doivent elles être ſi cheres? Votre ſanté, votre famille, vos moindres actions, vos ſentimens, vos petoffes de Lambeſc, c'eſt la qui me touche, &c." Madame de Sevigné, 13th October, 1675.

"Adieu, ma très-chere; vous êtes trop aimable de preferer tous les riens, et tous les diſcours de Pilois (jardenier des Rochers) que je vais vous mander, á toutes les nouvelles du monde: je vous le rends bien; les details de Grignan me ſon plus cher que toutes les relations de Fontainebleau." 25th May, 1680.

See alſo with how little feeling ſhe talks of the ſufferings of her own province Bretagne, under the exactions and oppreſſions of the court. It ſhould ſeem that ſhe thought even this little ſenſe of their miſery, required a ſort of excuſe, and even to her daughter; "Me voila bien Bretonne, comme vous voyez, mais vous comprenez bien que cela tient à l'air, que l'on reſpire, et auſſi a quelque choſe de plus; car, de l'un à l'autre toute la provence eſt affligée. 20th October, 1675."

In another letter, three days after, ſhe ſays, more ſtrangely ſtill, that Madame de Marbeuf had paſſed a day with her, that "Elle a vu tous les diſordres de cette provence de fort pres; elle me les joua au naturel; ce ſont des choſes a pâmer de rire," &c. And again, the 27th of the ſame month. "On a pris, a l'aventure, vingt-cinq ou trente hommes que l'on va pendre," &c. Would one imagine, that this amiable lady was ſpeaking of countrymen, of Frenchmen, haraſſed and oppreſſed by the prodigality and deſtructive ambition of a prince

a prince and his miniſters? So little favourable are ſome governments not only to love of public good, but even to common humanity.

II.

NOTE [A], p. 251.

SEE the manners of the Athenians inimitably characteriſed and contraſted with thoſe of Sparta, in the ſpeech of the Corinthians to the latter. Thucydides, lib. i. See alſo the ſpeech of Cleon, with regard to the fate of the people of Mytilene, to which the text has a more particular reference. Lib. iii.

NOTE [B], p. 251.

THE judicious Machiavel has obſerved this before. "Quelli primi Romani neſſuna cattiva ſorte gli feci mai devenire abietti, ne neſſuna buona fortuna gli feci mai eſſere inſolenti, come ſi vide manifeſtamente dopo la rota ch' egli ebbero a Canne, e dopo la vittoria ch' egli ebbero, contra ad Antioco, &c." in which he proves his aſſertion by various inſtances. Diſcorſi, lib. iii. c. 31.

NOTE [C], p. 251.

RECOLLECT the ſtory told by Plutarch, with regard to Cleon's making the Athenians ſacrifice for a premature victory, and his ſtrange and comic excuſe; his deſiring them alſo to break up an aſſembly of the people, becauſe he had ſome friends to dine with him; his ridiculous boaſt and offer about Pyle, and the Athenians taking him at his word and obliging him to go. Thucydides, lib. iv.

NOTE [D], p. 264.

LIVY ſays beautifully upon the death of Tarquin, "Eo nuncio erecti patres, erecta plebes ſed patribus nimis luxurioſa ea fuit lætitia: Plebi, cui ad eam diem

diem ſumma ope inſervitum erat, injuriæ a primoribus fieri cæpere." Lib. ii. c. 21.

NOTE [E], p. 269.

THE Agrarian law ſo much contended for among the Romans, is generally miſunderſtood. Its object was not to authoriſe an equal diviſion of private property, and of land in general, but only a diſtribution among the poorer citizens of ſuch of the conquered lands, as the patricians had moſt iniquitouſly uſurped and appropriated to themſelves, cultivating them with ſlaves inſtead of citizens, by which the latter were deprived of all means of getting their bread, and reſtricting the portion of every ſenator to five hundred acres." Vid. Appian de bello civili, lib. i. vol. ii. p. 605, 606. Edit. 1670, et Plutarch in Graccho.

NOTE [F], p. 276.

PERHAPS it may not be improper juſt to obſerve, that the language and conduct alluded to, of perſons in power and office, is of but late and recent date. We are told that formerly people of this deſcription, were even in ſome degree aſhamed of their ſituation. "But as for pride or inſolence, on account of their outward advancement and ſeeming elevation, that one may obſerve what is very contrary in theſe fairer characters of men. For though, perhaps, they were known ſomewhat rigid and ſevere before; you ſee them now grown in reality ſubmiſſive and obliging. Though in converſation formerly dogmatical, and overbearing, on the points of ſtate and government; they are now the patienteſt to hear, the leaſt forward to dictate, and the readieſt to embrace any entertaining ſubject of diſcourſe, rather than of the public, and their own perſonal advancement." Characteriſtics, vol. iii. p. 176. And again,

a page

a page or two before, "For till our gentleman is become wholly proſtitute and ſhameleſs; till he is brought to laugh at public virtue, and the very notion of common good; till he has openly renounced all principles of honour and honeſty, he muſt in good policy avoid thoſe to whom he is much expoſed, and ſhun that commerce and familiarity which was once his chief delight." P. 174.

NOTE [G], p. 285.

THE reader will recollect a great reſemblance between theſe beautiful paſſages and ſeveral of the Cyropedia, in Cyrus's generous humanity to the family of the King of Armenia, to Panthea and Abradates, &c. Lib. iii.

NOTE [H], p. 295.

BUT it is finely and truly obſerved, "Sed nimirum, ut quidam, morbo aliquo et ſenſus ſtupore, ſuavitatem cibi non ſentiunt ſic libidinoſi, avari facinoroſi, veræ laudis guſtatum non habent." Philip. ii. p. 421. vol. vi. Edit. Olivet. Geneve.

VIII.

Of MARRIAGE and POLYGAMY.

THE union of the ſexes is the dictate of nature, the conſequence of the ſtrongeſt and moſt irreſiſtible of our inſtincts. It is ſtrengthened and confirmed by our mutual wants, by the enjoyments of ſympathy and converſation, by habit itſelf, by the hopes of future pleaſure.

Though for obvious reaſons, moſt other animals are not confined to one mate, yet this reſtraint ſeems to be the natural condition of man. Almoſt in every climate, the births of males and females appear to be pretty much upon an equality, and hence it ſhould follow as a natural inference, that providence intended but one woman for one man.

Accordingly, we find that polygamy is far from being the general practice of mankind. It prevails chiefly in thoſe countries where equal laws are unknown, or where the underſtanding and the heart are enfeebled and corrupted by the ardours

ardours of the climate, or the influence of ſuperſtition.

Where an equal or moderate diviſion of property obtains, ſuch an extravagant idea is hardly practicable. It cannot be adopted but in the courſe of perhaps ſeveral ages; not till the condition of individuals has been diverſified by various circumſtances, the events of war, the progreſs of arts and of commerce. It is then the condition of mankind is varied by unequal degrees of activity and ingenuity, by fortunate or adverſe accidents, and by other cauſes. It is then they are alſo diſtinguiſhed into the affluent and the needy, the informed and illiterate, the liberal and governing, the mercenary and dependent.

The effect of riches, is to enlarge our deſires, together with our ability of gratifying them. A perſon of great opulence and extenſive property, wiſhes for a variety of companions in the higheſt enjoyment of ſenſe, in the ſame manner as he does for various changes of dreſs, or of amuſements and houſes of reſidence. He grows difficult and faſtidious through ſatiety, languor, and inoccupation, and beats at every door, ſolicits every object for a renovation of emotion and delight.

It is probable, that female captives taken in war, were the firſt ſtep to polygamy. The conjecture ſeems countenanced by ſome paſſages in Homer, and in the Jewiſh hiſtory. Female captives were the reward of conduct and valour. They

They lay without reproach in the arms of generals and warriors notwithſtanding their lawful connexions. Superior beauty and accompliſhments might gradually recommend them to all the rights and advantages of honourable marriage. Barrenneſs, incompatibility of temper, infidelity, may alſo in time have been conſidered as juſt and reaſonable cauſes both for polygamy and divorce.

For the reaſons mentioned above, we meet with few inſtances of polygamy in ſavage or barbarous life. Where individuals are nearly upon a footing in every reſpect, where the means of ſubſiſtence are ſcanty and precarious, or obtained with great labour and difficulty, there is no great exuberance of juices, the reign and influence of amorous deſire is very feeble and remiſs, and confined within a narrow circle: the conſtitution is cold and indifferent, and the ſex (owing to the ſtate of manners) has neither complexion, features, or good plight, to fan and excite emotion and deſire. But in countries where civility, refinement, and luxury have gained an aſcendant; where the climate drives the blood in a fever through the veins; where this natural heat is increaſed by the moſt nutritious foods and liquors; where nature exhibits her faireſt forms; where the native charms of beauty are heightened by dreſs, motion, manner, and expreſſion; where the ſenſes are inflamed through the imagination; where one part of the ſociety wantons in ſuperfluity and exceſs, while the other groans under the heavy

preſſure of poverty and inſult, a very different ſcene is preſented to us. The indulgence of every deſire, of every propenſity, how irregular or unreaſonable ſoever, is claimed by the former, as their right, their diſtinction; while the latter may indeed be ſaid to breathe, to exiſt, but hardly to think or to live.

Such, however, is the condition of mankind in a great part of the extenſive continent of Aſia, and it is here we find polygamy in all its various gradations. Its inconveniencies have been alleviated, as far as they were capable of alleviation, but the general practice has been authoriſed both by civil and religious regulations.

Another reaſon of the prevalence of polygamy in warm climates, is the plenty and cheapneſs of the neceſſaries of life to the great and the wealthy. Property being in the hands of a few, the maintenance and ſupport of a variety of wives, and their iſſue, is not felt as a weight and a burden, and hence their plurality.

Mahomet, certainly a perſon well acquainted with human nature, in order to accelerate, enlarge, and confirm his ſuperſtition, and conſequently dominion, allowed, or rather enjoined an almoſt unbounded licenſe to amorous deſires, of ſuch influence over all men, but more eſpecially over the inhabitants of warm and genial climates. Hence the permiſſion of four wives, and of as many concubines as the perſon's income can bear. Yet one of theſe always claims a kind of ſuperiority over the reſt. All the children of the various connexions are conſidered as her's; ſhe is as it were

were an aſſociate and companion to her huſband, the others are but the inſtruments of his pleaſures. A ſtate ſo unnatural has ſuggeſted ſeveral regulations. Every lady has her allotted night; there is no amorous intercourſe during pregnancy or the periodical diſcharge. One ſhould ſuppoſe, that polygamy thus methodiſed, would be favourable to the increaſe of children and of population, but the very contrary is found to be the truth *. Let us endeavour to ſhew this, and likewiſe that polygamy is adverſe to natural affection.

It does not appear, that the huſband of many wives, has a more numerous offspring than the huſband of one. Though probably his deſires are more frequently excited and inflamed, yet his powers of propagation are not proportionally increaſed. His body is exhauſted and relaxed, his mind ſuffers by ſympathy and contagion, and his diſappointed and inſatiable deſires at laſt terminate (could one believe it) in the crime againſt nature. Nay, ſo little favourable is polygamy to population, and the increaſe of our ſpecies, that we read with aſtoniſhment and horror, that in the revolution at Conſtantinople, when the Sultan Achmet was depoſed, and the houſe of the Chiaya ranſacked and plundered, not a ſingle woman was to be found in it; and Logier de Taſſis informs us, they are arrived at ſuch a degree of exorbitancy in this reſpect at Algiers, that in the greater part of the ſeraglios, not a ſingle

* Vid. Chardin, vol. ii. p. 281.

female is entertained. Such are the horrid and ſhameful effects of counteracting the plaineſt admonitions of nature.

We alſo learn that it is a common thing in Aſia, to ſee a prodigious ſeraglio with hardly any children; and even theſe few generally feeble and ſickly, bearing too palpable marks of the languor and debility of their parents. What a loſs likewiſe to population, in the barren ſacrifice of ſo many women to one man, of female ſlaves neceſſary to attend, of eunuchs neceſſary to guard them?

With regard to natural affection, its ſphere of energy is limited and confined. As Plutarch has moſt eloquently ſhewn by a variety of appoſite and entertaining arguments and examples, that we cannot be deeply intereſted for a multiplicity of friends, or love them with entire affection, no more can we for a variety of wives, and their numerous progeny. No parent can be ſo anxious for the health, the intereſt, the happineſs of twenty children, as he can for that of leſs than half that number. Nay, could he be tenderly attached to any of them, polygamy would not perhaps be quite ſo odious; but the truth is, it generally happens, when ſuch unnatural and multiplied marriages produce a numerous offspring (and they oftener produce none), that all the children are equally indifferent to the parent, and even to ſuch a degree as is hardly credible. It ſhould ſeem that the ſum of natural affection, by being ſhared among ſo many, loſes all its energy and virtue, like a glaſs of any ſtrong and generous ſpirit, infuſed

fuſed in a large proportion of ſimple liquid. An appoſite and palpable example juſt occurs to me. It is related in Prevoſt's General Hiſtory of Voyages. He ſays, it is cuſtomary with the Chineſe, to go and reſide ſometime in the iſland of Java, for the purpoſes of merchandiſe and commerce. By a law of the country, a law worthy of arbitrary government, if any ſtranger happen to die there, his effects and property incur a forfeiture, and are claimed by the crown: yet when in health he may retire, and quit the iſland with whatever fortune he may have made. A certain Chineſe had lived ſome years in the iſland, had married various wives, by whom he had many children, and having acquired a conſiderable fortune by ſucceſsful commerce, intended to return to his own country. As was natural, his great riches and known intentions, made the officers of the revenue, and even the king himſelf, very attentive to his motions. They diſcovered that ſuch was the wretch's avarice and want of natural affection, and even of common humanity, that in order ſtill further to increaſe his capital, and with a view perhaps to form new matrimonial connexions in his country, he had abſolutely ſold to ſlavery moſt of his wives and all his children. The court of Java took advantage of this, pretended a right to examine into his proceedings, threw him into priſon, continued his confinement under various pretences, till at laſt the man, haraſſed with uncertainty, vexation, and probably remorſe, ended his days there. The unnatural huſband and parent was

juſtly though illegally puniſhed, the court ſeized his effects and fortunes, the real object of the proſecution, and pretended regard to the rights of nature and humanity, but had the equity, and paid ſuch a deference to decency and appearances, as to redeem the wives and children, and even to make them ſome trifling preſent. I relate this from memory, and many ſimilar inſtances will occur to ſuch as are converſant in memoirs, that give an account of the manners and cuſtoms of the Eaſt, where polygamy is a general and legal connexion among the great and the opulent. As to the want of regard and attachment, in the princes of thoſe countries, to their children and brothers, it is notorious to every one, and though proceeding in part from the ſuſpicion and jealouſy of ambition, and love of empire and dominion; yet it may alſo be imputed to an unnatural proportion of ſons or of brothers.

My fair readers will readily allow, that no huſband can love a dozen, fifty, or an hundred wives and miſtreſſes, with ſuch ardour and paſſion as one fair companion, the ſole object of his tenderneſs and affection. With ſuch a motley crowd of ſo different tempers and humours, there can be no rational converſation, no endearing ſympathy, gradually mellowing into eſteem and friendſhip; and in ſickneſs or age, how can we feel for our own infirmities and pains, and for thoſe of ſo many? Our minds, our hearts are too narrow and confined, to be capable of ſo enlarged and comprehenſive affection.

It is needleſs to inſiſt on the jealouſies, the emulations, the perpetual quarrels of ſo many rivals for attachment and preference. And with regard to children, as brothers and ſiſters, what harmony, what regard can be expected among them, competitors for whatever prompts deſire, and under the influence of the caprices, the jealouſies, the expectations of their various mothers. In few words, polygamy, or a multiplicity of wives, is diſhonourable and debaſing to the other ſex, tyranny, ſelfiſhneſs, corruption in our own, and in every reſpect highly adverſe to population, natural affection, and domeſtic happineſs.

IX.

OF CONVERSATION.

ONE of the greateſt alleviations of the cares and troubles of life, is the amuſement and relaxation we receive from the ſatisfactions of converſation. They heighten the enjoyments of the table, which without their ſeaſoning would be merely ſenſual, and are a grateful interruption of our ſerious and intereſted purſuits. They excite a mutual deſire to pleaſe, foſter benevolence, friendſhip, and good humour, they brighten wit, exerciſe memory, and gently ſolicit all the powers of fancy, imagination, and reaſon.

Were it neceſſary to define converſation, it might be called the free and perſonal communication of our opinions and ſentiments on domeſtic, political, or literary ſubjects; for ſuch are the topics to which Cicero ſeems to confine this intercourſe, and to which perhaps it ought to be reſtrained [A]. Hence, it is only in civilized countries, and among the learned and poliſhed part of mankind, that any thing can ſubſiſt deſerving the

the name of converſation. In the convivial meetings of ſavage life, the ſubject of diſcourſe can be little but the incidents of hunting and the chace, or the events of irregular incurſion, attack, or defence. In communities alſo, where the arts and ſciences have made but inconſiderable progreſs, it muſt be very much circumſcribed and limited. Even in highly poliſhed ſtates, none can be ſaid (with propriety) to converſe, but thoſe who have been fortunate in a liberal education, whoſe thoughts are raiſed above the common and vulgar cares and purſuits of life, and whoſe minds have been adorned and enlarged by reading, by company, and by travel. The more a man knows, the more he has ſeen, the more various and extenſive his curioſity, and information, and knowledge of human affairs, the more qualified and capable he is of entertaining and intereſting in ſociety and good company.

In reading the accounts by ſenſible travellers of thoſe countries, where ſcience and letters are in a manner unknown or neglected, and whereby the forms and corruption of the government, the attention of the community and individuals, is eſtranged from public affairs, one pities the languor and liſtleſſneſs of ſocial and private entertainments. The enjoyments of the company ſeem entirely ſenſual. It is the palate, the ſenſes only, that are excited and gratified, not the underſtanding and the fancy, the taſte and the heart. The parties are enlivened, neither by wine nor by coffee:

coffee: the one cannot give them clearneſs of apprehenſion, becauſe they have no materials for thought; the other ſupplies them not with fluency of expreſſion, becauſe they have nothing to communicate. It humbles and gives one pain, to ſee human reaſon ſo greatly degraded, and ſunk to a level with animal nature. The famous traveller Della Valle (whom a noble curioſity and love of knowledge, conducted through Turky, Perſia, and a great part of India) gives a very natural deſcription of ſuch a ſort of aſſembly or entertainment. It is during his ſtay at Hamadun in Perſia. As it is long, I refer the reader to it. Let it ſuffice to obſerve, there was plenty of every thing, the proviſions and cookery of the country, wine, coffee, &c. but hardly a word paſſed, all was dulneſs and ſilence. "Non ſi diceva mai una parola, e ſtavano tutti in ſilentio*."

In reading thoſe two beautiful pictures of Grecian manners, the banquets of Plato and Xenophon, I have often wondered that ſo polite and learned a nation as Greece, nay, that a company of philoſophers, ſhould be obliged to have recourſe for entertainment to the petulance and extravagance of buffoons, the unnatural poſtures and attitudes of ſinging boys and dancing girls. Yet we find this to have been a frequent practice even at Athens. It is alluded to in Plato's banquet, and in Xenophon's [B]; three of the principal characters, are Philip, a ſort of buffoon

* Letter 1ſt, Sphahan.

or

or merry Andrew, a ſinging and dancing or poſture-girl, and a boy that plays on the flute. If ſuch helps to entertainment and cheerfulneſs were thought neceſſary in ſo poliſhed a nation as Greece [C], and even admitted to the tables of philoſophers, it is the leſs ſurpriſing they ſhould be ſo much in requeſt, where ſcience and letters have made but little progreſs. Every body knows how neceſſary a character, what they called a fool or dwarf, was during ſeveral ages at all the great tables of modern Europe; and even ſo lately as the times of our firſt Charles, all perſons of ſenſe, moderation, and good nature, highly cenſured the moroſe and unbecoming ſeverity of Biſhop Laud to the ſatyrical Archy [D]. In countries where the topics of converſation are ſtill more confined, the company is either abſolutely ſilent (as we ſaw juſt now in Perſia), or have recourſe to a variety of games, of chance, or of ſkill, in order to baniſh languor, and keep attention awake. La Loubere tells us, that the Siameſe (a civilized people) carry to ſuch exceſs their paſſion for play, that they commit to the hazard of the die, not only their whole property, but their perſonal liberty, and even in ſpite of natural affection, that of their wives and children [E]. The ſame has been ſaid of the ancient Germans, and of ſeveral ſavage and barbarous nations, made known to us by the diſcovery of America [F]. The inhabitants of theſe leſs equal governments and forms of ſociety, are driven to theſe fatal expedients in order to amuſe and agitate, from the

ſame

ſame principle that a perſon of condition and education, in France or in England, repairs in an evening to a dramatic repreſentation or muſical entertainment, or to eaſy and ſocial meetings, in which are freely and calmly diſcuſſed domeſtic, political, or literary ſubjects.

Though it was long, and ſome ages elapſed, before ſcience and letters had made any progreſs in Rome, yet we do not read that that wiſe and ſevere people ever found it neceſſary to ſubmit to the pernicious expedients above alluded to, of barbarous or enſlaved ſociety, in order to divert the languor and liſtleſsneſs of life, and fill up the vacancies of ſerious occupation and purſuit [G]. They ſeem to have reſted their pleaſures and enjoyments, on the proper duties and offices of a man. As was obſerved in a preceding eſſay*, during the period of their virtue, agriculture, liberty, conqueſt engroſſed their whole attention. When thoſe happy times had rolled away, though dominion and luxury poured in all their concomitant and attendant vices, exceſſes, and crimes, and though the ſpectacles of the Arena, and the Circus, the expreſſive pantomime, and the expiring gladiator, were the entertainment and delight of the populace, yet literary ſubjects and compoſitions were introduced at the tables of the polite and liberal; and we are told by the elegant hiſtorian of Atticus, that none were admitted to his ſuppers, who could not be entertained with hearing read aloud a poem, a moral treatiſe,

* Eſſay II.

or

or other compoſition [H]; and even ſo late as the times of the younger Pliny, he informs us, that during ſupper with his wife, and a few friends, their conſtant entertainment was ſome book, or literary tract [I]. Theſe manners, it is true, were very different from our own, but were they not as eligible? And when all the information and fancy and pleaſantry of a ſelect party are exhauſted, is not a drama or hiſtorical narrative as good a ſubſtitute, as the card-table with her ſilence, emptineſs and dulneſs, to call no worſe names? Indeed, we never ſtray ſo wide of pleaſure, as when we purſue it in enjoyments in which neither the underſtanding, the imagination, or the heart are concerned.

With regard to the art of converſation, it ſeems to conſiſt in never exhauſting or dwelling too long on any ſubject; in ſhewing its beſt points of view, rather than every thing that can be ſaid upon it; its moſt ſtriking features rather than its minute peculiarities. The reſt of the company ſhould be permitted their ſhare of the converſation, and even enticed into it. People of good ſenſe and good manners meet together, not big with the ſilly deſire of what is called ſhining, and being witty and clever, or of making tireſome or inſulting diſſertations and harangues, but in order to converſe and to talk; of which kind of intercourſe ſimplicity, modeſty, inquiry, information, conciſe narrative, pertinent reflection, are the peculiar excellencies. Far be from ſuch unaffected, engaging meetings, all noiſy, vociferous mirth and laughter, the empty

empty boaſt of unimitated birth and merit, of fortune undignified by expence, the ſtale and repeated recital of our proper ſelves, our refined addreſs, our merited ſucceſs, our unmerited diſappointment, the ſtory of our feelings, diſeaſes, recoveries. Nothing but the partiality of friendſhip can excuſe ſuch idle babble; it is the topic of only ignorant and ſilly characters.

Notwithſtanding the opinion of certain ſevere and extravagant moraliſts, perhaps even ridicule, ſatire, and cenſure, may be ſometimes permitted. Even the Spartan legiſlator approved this ſpecies of reſtraint on unworthy and indecent actions and conduct: for we are told the great ſubject and buſineſs of the converſation of his citizens, was to praiſe ſome good and virtuous action that had been performed, or to cenſure ſome fault that had been committed, and this was done with wit and good humour, and in ſuch a way as to reprove and correct without offending. Such was the delicacy obſerved to thoſe preſent. The abſent worthleſs were treated with leſs reſerve. Indeed, the reprehenſion of the impertinent, the vicious, the criminal, is an implied approbation and eulogy of thoſe of an oppoſite character and manners, of the modeſt, the temperate, the virtuous: beſides, it is a great check on any propenſity to vice or unworthy behaviour, to hear ſuch as are addicted to them, repreſented in the true and odious colours they ſo juſtly deſerve. Our natural diſlike and horror of them, are increaſed by ſympathy with their cenſurers, and we dread being placed

placed in the ſame diſadvantageous and mortifying point of view.

One of the moſt pleaſing topics of converſation is anecdotes, or remarkable paſſages of the lives and actions of great and illuſtrious perſons; of thoſe who have ſerved their country, and the cauſe and intereſts of human nature, by their private or public virtues, in letters or in arms. As was alluded to above, ſuch was the ſchool, in which at a frugal meal, and over the moderate uſe of wine, the citizens of Sparta, both of early and advanced age, learned and confirmed themſelves in good manners, morality, and public affection. The ſayings, the conduct, the exploits, and atchievements of the characters and actors brought into diſcourſe, had a more efficacious and exciting effect on the hearers, than unadorned precept, or the dictatorial ſtyle of diſcipline and inſtruction.

Our great progreſs and improvements in arts and letters, have enlarged the ſphere of modern converſation to a boundleſs extent. We paſs in review not only the virtues and vices of our own times, but of all times, and of all ages, paſt and preſent. Beſides, the more ſerious parts of ſcience, the ſublime, the pathetic, the comic, the deſcriptive of poetry, the expreſſion of muſic, the magnificence of architecture, the ſcenery of landſcape; in a word, ten thouſand intereſting or entertaining topics ſolicit our attention, ſerve to enliven exiſtence, or to ſuſpend the influence of the unavoidable troubles and anxieties of human life.

When

When we have ſuch rich, ſuch inexhauſtible ſources of diſcourſe, how can we ſo perverſely, ſo ungratefully precipitate ourſelves on the ſhameful and ruinous agonies of play [K], the impairer of our health and good humour, the canker of our fortunes, the ſeducer, by our own example, by our own encouragement, of our wives, our ſons, and even of our unmarried daughters. Certain it is, that this ſcandalous and deſtructive paſſion, has been carried to ſuch a degree of exceſs and exorbitancy, and produced ſuch terrible and alarming effects, that unleſs it receive ſome check and opprobrium from parents, or huſbands, or the legiſlature, or may I ſay Heaven, our own deſtruction, and that of our country, is juſtly to be apprehended. Did I ſay the legiſlature? Alas! there is its throne, there is its ſeat of triumph and glory, there it ſatiates daily on deſpair and ſuicide. Nothing but ſome national calamity, or extraordinary interpoſition, can preſerve us from perdition, can reſtore us to the uſe of reaſon, to a taſte and reliſh for natural and rational amuſements and ſatisfactions.

Though a teller of ſtories be a tireſome and inſipid character, yet a ſtory related with ſpirit or humour, ſerves often very agreeably to diverſify and enliven converſation. It ſhould not be long, it ſhould not be minute, the narrator ſhould haſten to the concluſion. Nothing, indeed, ſo overwhelming, as a tedious, particular, unintereſting tale.

A perſon of this turn and talent, ſhould alſo have a very good memory; not ſo much leſt he fall through his tale (though that would be a circumſtance ridiculous enough), as leſt he ſhould not recollect having entertained with it the very ſame audience before. It may be doubted whether the novelty and ſingularity of the ſtory or narrative, or the manner of expreſſing and unfolding it, be its chief merit. Even royal majeſty itſelf could not detain an audience (and that of courtiers too, whoſe profeſſion, they ſay, is flattery and want of feeling) to the ſtale, and often repeated relations of our ſecond Charles, who yet is acknowledged to have ſurpaſſed all men in this pleaſing talent [L]. So much more intolerable was the fear of ſatiety and languor, than of giving offence, than incurring, perhaps, diſlike and diſgrace; a word well underſtood, and as much dreaded in courts.

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 313.

HABENTUR plerumque ſermones aut de domeſticis negotiis, aut de republica, aut de artium ſtudiis atque doctrina. Danda igitur opera eſt, ut etiam ſi aberrare ad alia cœperit, ad hæc revocetur oratio. De officiis, lib. i. cap. 37. Edit. Olivet.

NOTE [B], p. 315.

THOUGH Eriſimachus propoſes the muſic girl ſhall be ordered to the apartment of the women, yet we know, that ſuch helps to entertainment were frequently admitted to the tables of the Greeks.

NOTE [C], p. 316.

A Sort of military dance was a principal entertainment of the ancients. Vide Athenæus, p. 15. Edit. Caſaubon. Lib. iv. p. 129. Singers, muſicians, male and female, are introduced, with poſture women throwing themſelves, with their heads on the points of ſwords, and breathing fire out of their mouths, p. 130. A buffoon makes his appearance, who dances with a woman upwards of eighty. In Lucian's Somnium ſeu Gallus, muſicians, buffoons, dancers, are introduced at a banquet, to entertain the company. It appears from a paſſage of Plutarch, that theſe buffoons ſometimes de-

ſcended to ſuch low humour, and poor expedients, to excite mirth and laughter, as to imitate the grunting of hogs, and the ſcreeching noiſe made by the wheels that are uſed to draw water out of wells, and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that ſuch characters as Plutarch could be entertained and diverted with them. "For as we are pained and diſpleaſed when we hear the grunting of an hog, or the noiſe made by an ill-oiled wheel, or the bluſtering of the wind, or the roaring of the ſea; but are amuſed and entertained, when they are imitated by ſome droll and pleaſant buffoon, as Parmeno formerly imitated the hog, and one Theodorus the great wheels made uſe of in drawing water." Plutarch, "Quomodo adoleſcens poetas audire debeat."

NOTE [D], p. 316.

THE ſtory is well known, and is told by Whitelocke. We may here take occaſion to obſerve, that the amuſements and entertainments of communities and nations, are in a great meaſure regulated by the progreſs they have made in civility and ſcience. The ſavage and barbarian delight in the dance and the ſong, or in games of chance and of hazard. The firſt ſpecies of dramatic imitation ſeems to be mimicry and pantomine. When the arts of manufacture begin to be attended to, ſhews and proceſſions, in which there is room for the diſplay of taſte and of fancy, are encouraged in towns and in cities. Juſts and tourneys were the recreation of the ages of extravagance and chivalry. It is long before the workings of the human mind, character, ſentiment, and paſſion, are brought in the ſcene. The firſt attempts of this kind are always groſs and confined. In Europe, while our knowledge of hiſtory extended little beyond the bible, the ſubjects of ſuch rude compoſitions, allegories, or ſpectacles, were generally taken from Scripture.

Scripture. Hence, in ſuch repreſentations, and in the old moralities, the characters are commonly Jewiſh or Antediluvian. Grecian and Roman manners were diſregarded, or rather unknown. Agreeably to theſe obſervations, we read, that Clovis deſired of Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, a pantomime, who, to excellence in his art, joined proficiency in muſic. Theſe mimics were our firſt players, as they had alſo been in Greece and in Rome. They endeavoured to render themſelves more agreeable to the barbarous ſpectators, by indecent poſtures and obſcene ſongs. Hence Charlemagne's edict, incapacitating them to bear teſtimony againſt perſons of free condition, in conformity to the council of Afric. So general was the taſte for this ſort of players and their performances, that they were retained even in the houſes of biſhops, abbots, and abbeſſes; who yet were forbid to receive ſuch miniſters of debauchery. It was even found neceſſary to prohibit the clergy and religious the perſonal exerciſe of ſo infamous a calling. In the time of Pepin (768) the amuſements after dinner were la peche, le jeu, la chaſſe, les danſeurs de corde, les plaiſantains ou farceurs, les jongleurs ou vielleurs & les pantomimes. The latter excelled particularly in their art. They had a wonderful talent of teaching dogs, bears, apes. They trained them to imitate all ſorts of geſtures, motions, poſtures, actions, and made them bear a principal part in their pieces. (Velly, hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 382. 12mo.)

At the coronation and entry into Paris, and marriage of Charles VI. myſteries, characters, and hiſtories, were repreſented publicly on ſcaffolds. A few days after the battle of Verneuil, in 1424. upon the return of the duke of Bedford to Paris, the journal of Paris relates, that at Chatelet, were repreſented the myſteries of the Old and

New Teſtament, executed by mute performers, vol. xiv. p. 300.; and Monſtrelet ſays, that at the interview between the dukes of Bourbon and Bourgogne, in 1434, at Macon, on y danſe, et y eut moult grand foiſon de momeurs et farceurs. He tells us, that the ſame kind of entertainment was exhibited at the entry of Charles VII. into Paris 1437, and that in the proceſſion, immediately after the advocates, notaries, &c. the perſonages of the ſeven mortal ſins appeared on horſeback. The ſeven virtues preceded the Lords of parliament and of requeſts; and three angels ſinging very melodiouſly received the king at the gate of St. Denis, while three other angels placed on a terras, en touroient un Saint Jean-Baptiſte montrant l'Agnus Dei. To conclude theſe extracts, we may alſo take notice, that upon the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks in 1452, the princes of Europe, and eſpecially the Pope, were greatly alarmed. In conſequence, Nicholas V. writes letters of exhortation to all the chriſtian princes, repreſenting the dangerous conſequence of the event. Moſt of them, except the duke of Burgundy, were engaged in private or domeſtic quarrels. He fitted out ſeveral veſſels, and prepared to embark againſt Mahomet. The amuſements preceding this great affair were agreeable to the manners of the age, allegorical repreſentations, tournaments, &c. Scaffolds were erected covered with the richeſt carpets, for the ladies, who were to judge of the valour and addreſs of the combatants. At the banquet, every courſe deſcended on the table in a chariot. A prieſt mounted on a dromedary, exhorted the audience even to tears; while at the ſame time the moſt whimſical repreſentations provoked them to mirth, ſo that they wept and laughed in the ſame breath. "On battoit un petit chien devant

un

un lion. Un pucelle de ſa mammelle verſoit hypocras en grande largeſſe. A cote de la pucelle etoit un jeune enfant qui de ſa broquette, rendoit eau roſe. Vell. p. 105. vol. xvi. from Monſtrelet. Such were the recreations and entertainments of former times, ſuch the forerunners of our preſent theatres, pantheons, concerts, &c.

NOTE [E], p. 316.

"LES Siamois aiment le jeu juſq'a ſe ruiner, & a perdre leur liberté, ou celle de leurs enfans: car en ce pais-la quiconque n'a pas dequoy ſatisfaire ſon creancier, vend ſes enfans pour s'acquiter, & ſi cela ne ſuffit, il devient eſclave lui-même." La Loubere, Du Royaume de Siam, vol. i. cap. 6. § 19.

NOTE [F], p. 316.

VID. Tacitus de moribus Germanorum. Lafitau & Charlevoix.

NOTE [G], p. 317.

IN a later period, however, of their hiſtory, it appears from Athenæus, that the Romans, as well as other nations, were entertained during the time of ſupper with gladiatorial ſhews and ſpectacles; the actors or combatants were even their dependents and friends.

NOTE [H], p. 318.

"NEQUE unquam ſine aliqua lectione apud eum cænatum eſt; ut non minus animo, quam ventre convivæ delectarentur. Namque eos vocabat quorum mores a ſuis non abhorrerent."

Note [I], p. 318.

PLINY, in writing an account to a friend of the manner in which he paſſes his time, ſays, "Cænanti mihi ſic cum uxore vel paucis, liber legitur. Lib. ix. Epiſt. 36. And in Seneca, there are frequent alluſions to the ſame practice. Indeed, the cuſtom of hearing ſome literary compoſition read aloud at ſupper, continued long at Rome, eſpecially at the tables of the learned by profeſſion, and of others who cultivated letters. A. Gellius, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, tells us, "Apud cænam favorini philoſophi quum diſcubitum fuerat, cæptuſque erat apponi cibus; ſervus aſſiſtens menſæ ejus legere inceptabat, aut Græcarum quid literarum, aut noſtratium, velut eo die, quo affui ego, legebatur Gabii Rufi eruditi viri liber de origine verborum & vocabulorum. Lib. iii. cap. 18. See alſo Plutarch's Sympoſiacon, in which the converſation is wholly literary, and a picture of living manners.

Note [K], p. 321.

FROM the ſtrain of the converſation of almoſt every modern circle and party, one would imagine, that many were of the opinion of the maſters of the gymnic exerciſes among the ancients, who, according to Plutarch, uſed to allege, that literate converſation and diſcourſe at table, and during our meals, was very hurtful to digeſtion; even corrupted our food, and gave the headach. De Sanitate tuenda, vol. i. p. 133. Edit. Xiland. Paris, 1624.

NOTE [L], p. 322.

BISHOP Burnet ſays of this prince, "He went over theſe (the paſſages of his exile, &c.) in a very graceful manner, but ſo often, and ſo copiouſly, that all thoſe who had been long accuſtomed to them, grew weary of them; and when he entered on thoſe ſtories, they uſually withdrew: ſo that he often began them in a full audience, and before he had done, there were not above four or five perſons left about him: which drew a ſevere jeſt from Wilmot earl of Rocheſter; he ſaid, he wondered to ſee a man have ſo good a memory, as to repeat the ſame ſtory without loſing the leaſt circumſtance, and yet not remember that he had told it to the ſame perſons the very day before." Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 466. Edit. Edin.

X.

OF RISING IN LIFE.

THE early part of life is too often paſſed in diſſipation and extravagance. Our deſires and paſſions are then ſtrong and new to pleaſure, our reaſon and underſtanding feeble and unexperienced. But if young men have good ſenſe, and allow themſelves to reflect a little, this fever and delirium is ſeldom of any long continuance. They ſoon diſcover the folly of it in every reſpect, in regard to fortune, to reputation, and even to happineſs. They perceive that the pleaſures of ſenſe are of but momentary duration, and the ſeaſon of them tranſient; and that they are by no means a proper foundation, or baſis, on which to build a rational and durable felicity. Such reflections as theſe, which will ſometimes overtake them when jaded and exhauſted with enjoyment, make them look around them, and conſider a little their own ſituation and that of others.

They then find, that thoſe who depended on amuſement, diſſipation, and ſenſual gratification, as the true ſources of happineſs, have been conſtantly

ſtantly deceived and diſappointed; that inſtead of conducting to enjoyment, they have generally led to miſery and ruin; that their votaries have ever have been conſigned to inſignificance and contempt; and that ſuch a ſcheme and plan of life has never been the choice, but of people of no parts, merit, or vigour of mind. On the contrary, they perceive, that thoſe whom nature has endued with penetration and foreſight, and a good underſtanding, have uniformly diſdained ſuch low and debaſing gratifications, and aſpired to felicity and enjoyment by inſtances of virtue and ability, by endeavouring to raiſe and advance themſelves in life and in the world, by deſerving the eſteem, and if poſſible, the admiration of their fellow-citizens and of mankind.

The ways of riſing in life are ſomewhat different in republics and in monarchy. It is difficult, it is impoſſible, to ſucceed in the former, without real and popular talents and virtues. In thoſe equal forms of polity, conſideration and advancement depend on induſtry, on important ſervices to the public, on wiſdom and eloquence in debate, on valour and conduct in the field. In the latter of theſe too, but in an inferior degree, but chiefly on inſinuation, on addreſs, on an artful attention to and obſervance of the characters, the manners, the weakneſſes, caprices and humours of perſons exalted by talents, or the blindneſs of fortune, into high and important ſtations.

This obſervance and attention to the manners and characters of eminent and illuſtrious perſons,

was alſo found neceſſary both in the Grecian and Roman commonwealth [A]. We learn from Cicero, that it was cuſtomary for every young man of parts and generous views, to attach himſelf to ſome diſtinguiſhed Roman, to ſtudy his conduct, principles, and manners, and to form himſelf upon them as a model; and this obſervance and imitation was one of the moſt probable and ſureſt openings to all the honours of the republic. He thus acquired the countenance and protection of the character, the object of his veneration, and his fellow-citizens were well diſpoſed to infer and believe, that he would emulate thoſe virtues and talents he ſeemed ſo highly to admire and to reverence. Thus in Greece, as Plutarch obſerves *, Ariſtides was formed and grew under Cliſthenes, Cimon under Ariſtides, Phocion under Chabrias, Polybius under Philopæmon. For all theſe characters in early youth attached themſelves to the others in advanced age, to uſe the expreſſion, taking root by them, grew under their ſhade, protection and example. Thus alſo at Rome, Cato was formed under Fabius Maximus, Pompey under Sylla, and Cicero himſelf under Scævola [B].

The ſame methods have been adopted, and even carried to an exceſs in monarchies, for unfortunately the models are ſeldom ſo worthy of imitation. Virtue not being the ſpirit of that form of government, confidence, honour, and emolu-

* Plutarch An Seni gerenda ſit reſpublica. See alſo many ſenſible reflections on this ſubject, in his Præcepta gerendæ reipublicæ, vol. ii. p. 805. Edit. Xilander.

ment,

ment, being not always the reward of talents and deſert, and ignorant and worthleſs men being often raiſed to influence and power, the countenance and favour of ſuch characters are far more effectually and ſpeedily attained by an unlimited reſpect, by flattering all their weakneſſes, follies, or vices, and by implicitly adopting and promoting all their maxims and views, than by the poſſeſſion of the greateſt integrity and capacity: nay, the latter are often no inconſiderable reaſons againſt promotion and advancement.

Though princes and perſons in high ſtations expect a paſſive and undiſtinguiſhing obedience from all who adhere to them, yet there is none of their advantages of which they are more jealous, than of the outward marks of attention, reſpect and reverence. What is a little extraordinary, their appetite and anxiety reſpecting this homage due to virtue alone, is generally according as their right to it diminiſhes. Is it becauſe they know and feel themſelves objects of contempt, or of hatred, and that theſe apparent expreſſions of reſpect and devotion, are a ſort of alleviation of their ſecret remorſe and diſſatisfaction, ſuggeſting, perhaps, that when ſo many are ſo ſolicitous to gratify, and even prevent their wiſhes, by every poſſible mark of attachment and veneration, they muſt be poſſeſſed of ſome degree of merit and virtue. Whatever may be their motives, this anxiety and jealouſy have been carefully obſerved and flattered by all diſcerning perſons, who have had the misfortune to live under arbitrary monarchies.

narchies. It has not been overlooked even by princes themſelves, when dependent on a ſuperior, and has ſerved to maintain them on their thrones, and in the poſſeſſion of royal power, notwithſtanding the moſt atrocious abuſe of it, and in ſpite of their rivals or enemies. This might be ſhewn from innumerable paſſages in hiſtory. We ſhall content ourſelves with two examples for the preſent, that are in ſome degree applicable to the ſubject of this eſſay. They are taken from Xenophon and Joſephus.

We learn from the former writer, in his Greek hiſtory, that Pharnabazus, one of the king of Perſia's governours, had given the Satrapy of Æolia, to Zenes of Dardanus. Upon his death, while Pharnabazus was conſidering whom he ſhould appoint to ſucceed him, Mania, the widow of Zenes, herſelf alſo of Dardanus, ſetting out with a body of troops, and taking with her many valuable preſents, not only for Pharnabazus himſelf, but alſo for his miſtreſſes and courtiers, came to pay her reſpects to him. Upon her arrival, ſhe addreſſed him to this effect: "My huſband, O Pharnabazus, was your creature, and raiſed ſuch ſums of money for your ſervice, as always to merit your acceptance and patronage. If, therefore, I ſhould not be leſs devoted to your intereſts, Why ſhould you give the Satrapy to another? Beſides, if I do not adminiſter it to your ſatisfaction, it is always in your power to take it from me,

me, and to beſtow it upon another." Upon hearing this, he determined to give it to the lady. Becoming then miſtreſs of the province, ſhe not only paid the ſame tributes her huſband had done, but as often as ſhe went to pay her reſpects to Pharnabazus, ſhe always carried with her ſome rich preſent. And whenever he viſited her province, ſhe received him with greater marks of reſpect and honour, and lodged him more magnificently, than any other of his lieutenants, of whatſoever opulence or power. By ſuch methods as theſe, ſhe grew into ſuch favour with Pharnabazus, that he not only continued her in the government of the Satrapy, but ſometimes even called her to council †.

With regard to the other example, I ſhall only obſerve, that notwithſtanding Herod's violent and ſanguinary adminiſtration, and the conſequent juſt abhorrence of him by the Jews, yet by addreſs, reſpectful attentions, and valuable preſents, firſt to M. Anthony (ſpite of Cleopatra's enmity), and afterwards to Auguſtus, he continued in poſſeſſion of his dominions, and in high eſtimation with the Romans during his whole life. This ſagacious flatterer, beſides other extravagant and almoſt impious marks of eſteem, reſpect, and veneration, built a magnificent theatre, and inſtituted feſtival games in honour of Auguſtus, in which were diſplayed every ſpecies of pomp, oſtentation and

† Xenophon Ελληνικων, lib. iii. cap. 1. § 8, 9, 10. Edit. Wells.

ſplendor.

ſplendor. I do not mean to cenſure the prudence of Mania, or to applaud the addreſs, if we muſt call it ſo, of Herod, but may perhaps be allowed to obſerve, that in all regal governments, private perſons have riſen to honours, and offices of truſt or emolument, by ſimilar, and often leſs innocent, and more unworthy and iniquitous methods. This might be eaſily ſhewn, by a variety of inſtances, from the hiſtory of all the monarchies of Europe: but as this has been already done, in a treatiſe I have prepared, I ſhall not inſiſt further upon it now. For my own part, I have always thought a private, independent ſtation, and even what is called obſcurity, far more eligible and worthy of a man, than the moſt conſpicuous condition, than honours, emolument, office, when received as the wages of ſervility, vice, or proſtitution. With regard to ſuch as are of a different way of thinking, who are ſo ſillily and criminally ambitious, as to wiſh to be what is called great at any rate, *per fas & nefas*, and ſcruple neither duplicity, treachery, adultery, and ſuch like little gentlemanly faults, in the purſuit and acquiſition, I refer them to the late polite-parental lectures of a noble Lord to his ſon, or to that part of Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, where that great philoſopher, but unworthy citizen and magiſtrate, treats *De ambitu vitæ* [C]. Notwithſtanding the genius and learning of the latter noble perſon, we have pretty ſtrong reaſons to believe, that he practiſed his own rules [D], and his ſucceſs was ſuch in the end, as it is pity ſhould not always

be the recompence of all who attempt to riſe by the ſame ſervile, baſe, and iniquitous methods. They who prefer the more open and generous ways of candour, dignity, and virtue, will find a ſafe and illuſtrious guide, in the immortal treatiſe of Cicero, concerning the duties and offices of a citizen, prematurely put into the hands of boys, but worthy of being the manual and directory of the oldeſt and wiſeſt man.

NOTES.

Note [A], p. 333.

PLUTARCH obſerves in his Præcepta Reipublicæ gerendæ, that there are two ways or methods of advancing ourſelves, and of riſing in the world. The firſt difficult and arduous, the other more eaſy and feaſible. The former conſiſts in the early and ſudden diſplay of our talents and powers, by eloquence and penetration, in counſel and debate, by valour and enterpriſe in the field; the latter in endeavouring to acquire the countenance, ſupport, and protection, of ſome eminent character, and to make his conduct, maxims, and manners, a model and exemplar to ourſelves, and thus gradually to ſlide into public eſteem and confidence.

Note [B], 333.

THERE are many excellent reflections on this ſubject, in Plutarch's Præcepta gerendæ Reipublicæ, vol. ii. p. 805. Edit. Xiland.

Note [C], 337.

NOTWITHSTANDING the devout concluſion of the paſſage alluded to, the rules recommended are mean and diſingenuous, and below the candour and ſpirit of a truly generous and virtuous mind. Agreeably to what is hinted above, the obſcureſt and moſt ſolitary condition, with a competence, independence, and

the love of letters, is preferable to the higheſt diſtinctions procured by cunning, diſſimulation, vain-boaſting, and ſervile attentions.

NOTE [D], p. 337.

RECOLLECT his ingratitude to his friend and patron Eſſex; his conduct and ſpeeches as a lawyer and judge; his ſervility to the king; his noted application of Gloria in obſequio, in letter cxxvii. to his pedantic maſter. Bacon's works, vol. iii. p. 280. 4to edit. See alſo Welden's court and character of James I. and Bacon's mean and proſtitute letters to Buckingham, that moſt vain, moſt arrogant, moſt ignorant, and incapable of miniſters and minions.

XI.

OF DEITY.

Ἱερον μεν γαρ ἁγιωτατον, ὁ κοσμος ἐστι· καὶ θεοπρεπεστατον· εἰς δε τουτον ὁ ἀνθρωπος εισαγεται διὰ της γενεσεως, ου χειροποιητων ουδε ακινητων αγαλματων θεατης, αλλ' οἱα νους θειος αισθητα νοητων μιμηματα (φησιν ὁ Πλατων) εμψυτον ἀρχην ζωης ἐχοντα καὶ κινησεως ἀφθειρε ἡλιον καὶ σεληνην καὶ ἀστρα καὶ ποταμος ἀενον ὑδωρ ἐξιεντας ἀει, καὶ γην φυτοις τε καὶ ζωοις τροφας ἀναπεμπουσαν.

Plutarch *de Tranquillitate animi*, edit. Xiland. p. 477. vol. ii. Paris, 1624.

WHEN I preſume to contemplate the attributes of this incomprehenſible mind, I am filled with the deepeſt awe and veneration. I am ſenſible of the narrow limits of my own underſtanding, and of the infinite diſtance between perfection and weakneſs. Yet as my thoughts impel me tremblingly to explore thy wiſdom and goodneſs, with ſuch a degree of humility and adoration as becomes a created, dependent, yet rational being, O great Author of exiſtence, life, matter, ſpirit, pardon my preſumption, perhaps folly; excuſe a curioſity excited by the ſplendid and magnificent objects

with which I am every where ſurrounded, and which ſeem to exclaim aloud to all rational nature, From the wiſdom and benevolence ſo extenſively diſplayed in our formation and uſes, infer the attributes of the divine Author: he bids thee contemplate his glorious works of creation and providence; he tells thee, that this is a conſiderable part of the duty of a being whom he has endowed with reflection and underſtanding.

All reaſonings *a priori* reſpecting the nature and attributes of Deity, being intelligible but to a ſelect number only, are of very narrow and confined uſe. The region of metaphyſics is an unbounded expanſe of conjecture and imagination, in which the mental eye is ſoon loſt and bewildered; but the wiſdom and benevolence diſplayed in the infinite modifications of matter and ſpirit, are apparent and level to all who have eyes to ſee and minds to reflect.

Whatever may be the reaſon of it, yet we learn from hiſtory and experience, that man arrives but ſlowly and gradually at, in ſome degree, ſuitable and becoming notions of deity. The ideas in this reſpect, of all ſavage and of many civilized nations, are groſs, and ſometimes even impious. Yet all communities acknowledge him the creator and governor of the world, either by himſelf, or by inferior agents. It is not till civility and ſcience have enlarged and enlightened the human mind; till his wiſdom and goodneſs have been inveſtigated and explored in the variety, beauty and harmony

harmony of matter; in the capacity, extent, verſatility, penetration of ſpirit; that his ſublime and tranſcendent attributes are conſidered and contemplated with ſuitable aſtoniſhment and veneration. As it may tend to warm and ſtrengthen our adoration of the great Author of nature, to direct our thoughts to that glorious ſource of wiſdom and benevolence, to raiſe us above the petty and trifling concerns of ſordid intereſt, of criminal ambition, let us endeavour to give, I fear, but a faint and very imperfect idea of what would perhaps be the private thoughts, meditations and reflections of a devout philoſopher, when inferring the exiſtence, the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, from the works of creation and providence.

This beautiful order of things muſt be the work of ſome ſuperior cauſe. When I examine the numberleſs ſprings and wheels of a watch, the regulated motion, the minutes, the figures, the capacity of ſignifying the hour; or when I conſider the amplitude of a firſt-rate ſhip of war, the infinity of ſeparate planks and beams of which it is compoſed, its various diviſions and apartments appropriated to different uſes, its maſts, its ſails, its pullies, its cordage, the aſtoniſhing force and velocity of its motion, I cannot help concluding, that neither the one nor the other are the production of chance or accident, but the work, the creation of ſome Being endowed with thought and reflection. But, alas! what is the moſt exquiſite mechaniſm of Graham or Tompion? what

is the greateſt boaſt of the navy of England? what are all the works of art, in compariſon of thoſe of nature? How can I behold the aſtoniſhing variety that preſents itſelf before me without wonder and admiration! The glorious ſplendours of the ſun that invigorate and adorn every object, the mild and reviving verdure of the face of the earth, the hills, the vallies, the plains, the mountains, the numberleſs rivers, the immenſity of the ocean; even the wildeſt and rudeſt ſcenes of nature, have a melancholy beauty and charm, the barren and ſolitary heath and wilderneſs, the precipitate and rifted rocks, the daſhing cataract, and the roaring torrent. Who has gilded all the objects of this pleaſing, this varied, this aſtoniſhing ſcene, with a ſoft and reviving light? Who has diffuſed around ſo genial an atmoſphere? Whence breathes that gale of fragrance? Who has given the family of flowers thoſe balmy odours? Who has dreſſed them in that infinity of forms and colours? For whom breathes that aerial muſic in the groves and woods? Did chance produce that infinity of graſſes, of grain, of pulſe, of vegetables? Did accident bid all the trees of the foreſt wave their ſtately heads on high, and ſhelter and protect with the rich exuberance of their branches and foliage? What occaſions the regular and periodical return of the ſap and moiſture, of the burſting gems, of the twinkling leaves? Even the bowels of the earth are replete with reſervoirs, with mines, with minerals, with ores, with gems,

all

all deſtined for the beſt and wiſeſt purpoſes! But what is inanimate and vegetative nature in compariſon of the animal and rational? Who gave the flocks to bleat, the herds to low, the birds to carol? Who commanded, from hence to pour upon the ear, together with the accompaniments of the murmuring of ſtreams and rivers, the whiſtling of winds through grove and foreſt, the hoarſer baſe of the ocean, the rich and wild concert of nature? Were the various animals of the draught, of the carriage, of travel, of war, not adapted and deſtined to their different and diſtinct purpoſes? Who has clothed to his hands theſe numberleſs ſervants of man, with their various dreſſes and coverings, with plumage, with hair, with down, with fleece, with feathers? Who preſerves their ſpecies diſtinct? Who points out to them, their food, their phyſic, their manners and modes of life? Does the provident ant owe her foreſight, does the laborious bee her induſtrious and ingenious architecture, does the beaver his love of community, and the conſtruction of his manſion, do the infinite varieties of the aerial race owe the forms of their neſts, the materials of which they are cemented and compoſed, does all rational and irrational nature owe their affection for their young, their ſelf-denials, their ſufferings upon their account, their care and anxiety reſpecting their education and ſettlement, to accident, to chance, to an unintelligible, an impious phraſe? Even the deſtructive inſtincts of birds and beaſts of chace or of prey,

of

of the different races of the dog kind, the hound, the ſpaniel, the maſtiff; the hawk, the eagle, the vultur; the lion, the tiger, the crocodile, the river horſe, are profound but awful proofs of wiſdom and deſign. But how muſt it increaſe our aſtoniſhment and veneration of the great cauſe of all things, to find that the world of waters, a world as extenſive and populous as that of earth, is as plentifully ſtored with vegetative and animated creation, as the earth and the air? For it is not an element cold and barren, it is a new empire, as rich, as populous as our own; and has alſo its animals, its plants, its other varieties, as well as this our higher ſcene. They too have their various modes of being, of food, of raiment, their inſtincts, their affections, and other virtues and qualities. Need we inſiſt on that perpetual ferment and agitation of her immenſe empire, her periodical increaſe and diminution, her connection with the great luminaries of heaven, the wholeſome winds that iſſue from her caverns, the vapours which breathe from her entrails, which form themſelves into clouds, and then deſcend in ſhowers, to refreſh and fertilize the earth, and ſwell and exalt her own native and tributary rivers; beſides, the intercourſe ſhe procures between all the nations of the univerſe by the medium of her buoyant, yielding and equal ſurface! Has chance, has this myſterious word, enacted the diurnal and annual revolution of the globe, and conſequently the ſeaſon of action and the ſeaſon of repoſe, the gradual increaſe and diminution

minution of heat and cold, with the grateful viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons?

When the ſeeming God of this world has withdrawn his inſupportable glories, and ſhines with reflected luſtre on his ſiſter orb, her numerous companions and fellow dependents, let us raiſe our eyes to heaven, and ſurvey the luminous and ſplendid hoſt. To whom do they owe their order, their harmony, their regular and periodical motion? What an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle! How many new worlds do we meet with here? How different in magnitude, in climate, and conſequently in manners and cuſtoms? What varieties, what viciſſitudes do we obſerve in theſe new regions? Fixed ſtars, and ſtars ambulatory; ſolitary ſtars, and ſtars accompanied and attended with ſatellites; planets whoſe different parts enjoy only ſucceſſively a borrowed light; comets that loſe themſelves in the profound obſcurities of ſpace, and return after ages to adorn themſelves with new fires? Suns that appear and diſappear, and ſeem alternately to be lightened and extinguiſhed; others that appear but once, and then vaniſh for ever. Heaven, indeed, is the country, the region of great events, yet every change is ſtability, every deviation is order. The greateſt and the leaſt of theſe luminaries are ſubject to the laws and commands of a wiſe, conſtant, ſuperintending cauſe. Even the blazing and angry comet, notwithſtanding the unfrequency of his appearance, and the far country he comes from; this formerly imagined deſtructive and lawleſs meteor,

meteor, is now known and aſcertained, to be no leſs obnoxious to law and government, than the meaneſt and moſt inoffenſive ſatellite of Jupiter.

But if when paſſing from inanimate and irrational nature, we proceed to conſider our own ſpecies, what ſhall we ſay? How ſhall we ſufficiently admire and adore the wiſdom and goodneſs of our maker! Where ſhall we find words to expreſs our hopes and fears, our love and gratitude? How well adapted, how exquiſitely to the duties and offices of man is his external form, and all his members, for motion, for reſt, for the exerciſe of all the uſeful and elegant arts? Could any thing but infinite wiſdom have ſo ſuited the eye to ſee, the ear to hear, the whole body to touch? Need I enumerate the membranes, by which the otherwiſe tender and expoſed orb of viſion, and the organ of hearing is protected and defended; the eye-lids, eye-brows, eye-laſhes, the barrier wax, and the mazy undulating winding of the ear? Need I inſiſt on the uſe of the bowels, the glands, the ſtomach, the liver, the lungs, the veins, the circulation of the blood, and the whole ſtructure of the body, internal and external, in contributing to its health, ſtrength, preſervation, and as it were continual renovation? But what are the energies of the body, in compariſon of the powers of the mind? What are ſpeed, and ſtrength, and agility, in compariſon of apprehenſion, reflection, memory, imagination, invention, foreſight, judgment? Of what admirable uſe are even all our deſires and

paſſions,

paſſions, hope, fear, love, averſion, anger, indignation? That is, when properly regulated and directed. What are the arts, what are the ſciences that man has not repeatedly created and revived? Born on the wings of knowledge and genius, has he not aſcended as it were into heaven, aſcertained the magnitude, the heat, the influence, the revolutions of all the ætherial hoſt, of the ſun, of the moon, of the planets, of the ſtars; has he not calculated their eclipſes, conjunctions, variations? Has he not comprehended and fathomed the immenſity and profundity of the ocean; meaſured and penetrated the compaſs and abyſſes of the earth? Is not the face of cultivated and adorned nature his ſole work and creation? Has he not founded cities, eſtabliſhed commonwealths, rendered the whole creation, every part of nature, and all the material and inſtinctive world ſubſervient to his benefit, convenience, pleaſure; every element, earth, air, water, fire? Nature having ſent him naked and defenceleſs into the world, it is his underſtanding, his rational faculties, that have enabled him to ſupply all her deficiencies, and to take a pleaſure in the effort and exerciſe; to build houſes, palaces, temples; to clothe, ſuſtain, adorn himſelf with the ſpoils of the whole univerſe; to ſubdue the weak by force, the fleet by perſeverance, the ſtrong by ſtratagem; even to purſue or deſtroy one animal by another, and to make them all the inſtruments of his profit or paſtime.

From

From this general and rapid view of man, his capacities, attainments, achievements, let us deſcend to a more particular enumeration and inveſtigation of them. We muſt always be the better for ſuch a train of thought, for ſuch views. Our piety and reverence of the firſt great cauſe of all things, muſt always be proportionably increaſed and warmed.

Our devout philoſopher ſtill ſeems wrapt in thought and reflection. How ſlowly he walks up yonder hill: obſerve him through the trees, how often he pauſes and ſeems to contemplate the rich and ſplendid ſcene that lies expanded to ſuch an extent below! But hark, I think I hear his voice. What is it he ſays? he ſeems entering upon a kind of rhapſody, or ſoliloquy on the wiſdom and goodneſs of nature, in the formation of our world and of man, his acquirements, his powers, his wonderous works.

How wiſely does the elevation of the earth above the level of the ſea, preſerve it from inundation? Its ſurface enamelled with flowers, adorned with a perpetually renewed verdure, peopled with ten thouſand ſpecies of different animals, is a place of repoſe, a ſojourn of delight, where man appointed to ſecond nature, preſides over every race of beings; alone among them all, capable of knowing and worthily admiring. God has made him ſpectator of the univerſe, and witneſs of his wonders; the divine particle with which he is animated, renders him participant of

of the divine myſteries; it is by that light and irradiation he thinks and reflects, it is by that he ſees and reads in the book of the world, as in an exemplar of the divinity.

Nature is the exterior throne of the divine magnificence; man, who contemplates it, who ſtudies it, raiſes and elevates himſelf by degrees, to the interior throne of the Almighty; formed to adore his creator, he commands all creation; vaſſal of heaven, king of the earth, he ennobles it, peoples it, enriches it; he eſtabliſhes among all beings, order, ſubordination, harmony; he embelliſhes even nature herſelf, he cultivates, extends her empire, civilizes, poliſhes her ſubjects; he roots up the thiſtle and briar, he multiplies the grape and the roſe. Behold thoſe deſert regions, thoſe gloomy climates, where man has never reſided; covered or rather briſtled with thick and black woods. In all the elevated parts, trees bared, deſpoiled of their bark, and of their tufted heads, bent, broken, falling through age; others in greater numbers lying at the feet of the former, to rot and putrify on heaps already rotten and putrified, both combining to choak and bury the burſting gems and ſhooting ſcions. Nature, who every where elſe exults in her youth, appears here in decripitude and palſy; the earth overloaded with her weight, oppreſſed and overwhelmed by the wreck of her productions, preſents nothing, inſtead of a flouriſhing verdure, but an encumbered ſpace, traverſed and obſtructed by aged and diſeaſed trees, polluted with every

noxious weed and plant, the impure fruits of corruption. In all the lower parts, the waters dead, ſtagnating and putrifying, for want of being conducted and directed; miry grounds, which being neither ſolid, nor liquid, are inacceſſible, and remain equally uſeleſs to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the waters; marſhes which, covered with aquatic and a fetid ſort of plants, nouriſh nothing but venomous inſects, and ſerve as an aſylum and rendezvous for unclean, impure animals. Between theſe infectious marſhes, which occupy the lower grounds, and the decrepit foreſts that cover the higher lands, a kind of heaths or ſavannas extend themſelves, that have nothing in common with our meadows; rank herbage overpowers and choaks the good; it is not that fine turf which appears to compoſe the down of the earth, it is not that enamelled moſs that proclaims its brilliant luxuriance and fecundity; it is thoſe coarſe vegetables, plants rough, thorny, twiſted, that ſeem to adhere leſs to the earth than to one another, and which, ſucceſſively ſtarving and ſtinting themſelves, form a matted, perplexed and intricate brake of many feet deep. No route, no communication, no veſtige of intercourſe in thoſe ſavage places. Man conſtrained to follow the tracks of the wild beaſts, if he would ſeize them; under a conſtant neceſſity of being on his guard againſt becoming their prey; terrified by their roarings, awed even by the ſilence of thoſe profound ſolitudes, he returns on his ſteps and exclaims,

rough,

Rough, unpoliſhed nature is hideous and dying; it is I, it is I alone, that can render her agreeable and alive; let us drain thoſe marſhes, let us animate thoſe dead waters, in giving them motion and fluidity, let us form them into rivulets, into canals, let us employ and make uſe of that active and devouring element, which they had concealed from us, and for which we are indebted only to ourſelves; let us ſet fire to that ſuperfluous brake, to thoſe aged foreſts already half conſumed; let us thoroughly deſtroy by the aid of iron and ſteel, what fire ſhall not be able to conſume; preſently inſtead of ruſhes, of the water lily, of which the hideous toad compoſed his venom, we ſhall ſee appear the renuncula, trefoil, every ſpecies of ſweet and ſalutary plants; troops of bounding playful animals ſhall tread thoſe regions before impaſſable; they ſhall find there an abundant ſubſiſtence, a paſture ever renewing; let us make uſe of thoſe new aids and helps to complete our work; let the ox ſubjected to the yoke, employ his ſtrength and the maſs of his weight to furrow the earth, let her renew her youth by cultivation; a new nature is ready to come out of our hands.

The pious and venerable man has now reached the ſummit of the hill, he is again ſilent, but ſtill ſeems immerſed in thought and meditation; he ſits down under yon lofty ſpreading elm, from whence he has a ſtill more unbounded view of all the plain below. But liſten, the rich and luxu-

riant proſpect again warms his imagination into admiration and enthuſiaſm.

How beautiful is nature thus cultivated! How brilliantly, how pompouſly is ſhe adorned by the cares of man. Himſelf is her principal ornament, her nobleſt production; in multiplying himſelf, he multiplies her moſt precious work; herſelf ſeems alſo to be multiplied with him; by his ingenuity he brings into broad day whatever ſhe had concealed in her boſom; how many unknown treaſures, what new riches? The flowers, the fruits, the grains perfected, multiplied to infinity; the uſeful kinds of animals tranſported, propagated, increaſed without number; the pernicious kinds reduced, confined, baniſhed; gold, and iron more neceſſary than gold, drawn from the entrails of the earth; torrents reſtrained, rivers directed, confined; even the ocean ſubdued, explored, traverſed from one hemiſphere to the other; the earth every where acceſſible, rendered every where as full of life as of fertility; in the vallies cheerful meadows, in the plains rich paſturage, or yet richer harveſts, the hills loaded with vineyards and orchards, their ſummits crowned with uſeful trees and with young foreſts, deſerts become cities, inhabited by an immenſe population, which circulating inceſſantly diffuſe themſelves from the centre to the extremities; routs opened and frequented; communications eſtabliſhed every where as ſo many teſtimonies of ſociety; a thouſand other

other monuments of power and of glory ſufficiently demonſtrate, that man, ſovereign of the inheritance of the earth, has changed, renewed its entire ſurface, and that through all time he divides the empire of it with nature.

Notwithſtanding, he reigns only by the right of conqueſt, he enjoys rather than he poſſeſſes, he holds only by cares always renewed; if they ceaſe, every thing languiſhes, every thing is altered, every thing changes, every thing returns under the hand of nature: ſhe vindicates her rights, effaces all the works of man, covers with duſt and with moſs his proudeſt, moſt diſdainful monuments, and leaves him nothing but the regret of having loſt by his remiſſneſs and improvidence, what his anceſtors had conquered by their foreſight and labours. Thoſe ſeaſons in which man loſes his empire, thoſe ages of barbariſm during which every thing periſhes, are always prepared by war, and arrive accompanied with famine and depopulation. Man who can do nothing but by numbers, who is ſtrong only by union, who is happy only by peace, has the madneſs to arm himſelf to his deſtruction, and to fight for his ruin; inſtigated by inſatiable covetouſneſs, blinded by ambition yet more inſatiable, he renounces the ſentiments of humanity, turns all his forces, all his reſources againſt himſelf, endeavours mutually to deſtroy himſelf, and in effect does deſtroy himſelf; and after thoſe days of blood and of carnage, when the vapour of

glory has diſſipated itſelf, he beholds with a mournful eye the earth laid waſte, the arts buried, nations diſperſed, communities weakened, his peculiar happineſs ruined, and his real power annihilated.

Into ſuch a ſtrain of philoſophic and juſt enthuſiaſm might we ſuppoſe a thinking and ſerious mind to be elevated, on an enlarged view of the works of creation and providence. An intelligence, a deity would every moment preſent itſelf. The longer he conſidered, the greater leiſure he took to inveſtigate the works of nature, the achievements of human underſtanding, the more he would be penetrated with their profundity and immenſity, the greater reaſon he would find to admire and adore the heavenly Author, and inflamed with a pious and holy zeal to exclaim in the harmony of the greateſt and moſt moral of poets,

All are but parts of one ſtupendous whole,
Whoſe body nature is, and God the ſoul;
That, changed through all, and yet in all the ſame,
Great in the earth as in the ætherial frame;
Warms in the ſun, refreſhes in the breeze,
Glows in the ſtars, and bloſſoms in the trees,
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unſpent,

Breathes

Breathes in our ſoul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect in an hair as heart;
As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
As the wrapt ſeraph that adores and burns.
To him no high, no low, no great, no ſmall,
He fills, he bounds, connects and equals all *.

* This eſſay is little more than an exerciſe and tranſlation from Buffon.

XII.

OF THE EDUCATION OF A PRINCE.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, Preceptor to their Royal Highneſſes the Prince of Wales, and the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh.

" I Beg leave to addreſs the following little tract
" to your Lordſhip, far indeed from imagining
" it can ſuggeſt any hints to your endeavours
" and labours, in forming the mind and manners
" of the Prince of Wales, and his Royal Brother,
" but purely in eſteem and admiration of the in-
" genuity, learning, ſpirit, and tendency of your
" Lordſhip's various writings."

THE notions entertained by the generality of princes, and too frequently inculcated to them, reſpecting their ſituation and duties, are often great obſtacles to their reputation and happineſs. They ſmile to hear it ſuggeſted, that their truſt is a ſerious one, requiring exertion, knowledge, and talents, and rather incline to conſider their power and their riches, merely as

the means of gratifying all their paſſions and deſires [A]. That this reflection is neither diſreſpect nor exaggeration, all hiſtory is too faithful a voucher. For in the numerous ſeries of ſovereigns, whether of ancient or modern times, how few Trajans, or Lewis the IX.'s and XII.'s, or Henry IV.'s, Edwards, and Williams, do we love and reverence; and how many Domitians, how many Lewis XI.'s, Richard III.'s, and Henry VIII.'s, do we hate and abhor?

As it cannot be ſuppoſed that nature has been leſs liberal of her gifts and endowments to the races of princes, than to other men, this remarkable difference in underſtanding, knowledge, and virtue in the former, can be attributed to nothing but the temptation of their circumſtances, and the neglect of their education in the early part of life.

It is curious, and perhaps not without its uſe, to obſerve the different ſentiments, and ideas entertained by the people of antiquity, and thoſe of more modern times on the ſuitable education, the duties, and offices of princes. The former ſeem to have conſidered them as the firſt magiſtrates of the ſtate, intruſted with the execution of the laws, the protection, enjoyment, and happineſs of individuals, and of the whole community. They appear to have been of opinion, that great returns of ſelf-denial and ſelf-command, induſtry, application, hardſhips, dangers, were juſtly due to the ſtate or nation, that had raiſed princes and their families to ſo high a degree of honour, power, and wealth,

wealth. But they were alſo aware that this ſenſe of duty, and this gratitude, theſe virtues and talents could only be expected, in proportion to the peculiar care that was taken of their manners and education, in the early and youthful ſeaſon of life. They knew then was the proper ſeaſon of inſtruction and diſcipline, then the future tone was to be given to the mind and character, and that the flowers and the fruits of manhood and age would derive their beauty, their perfume and their flavour from the nature and quality of the ſeeds and the ſcions. I cannot place their ſentiments in a clearer light than by tranſcribing part of a converſation between Ariſtippus and Socrates, on ſo intereſting a ſubject.

His hiſtorian relates, that by ſuch arguments as the following, Socrates uſed to excite his friends and diſciples to moderation, and forbearance in ſenſual enjoyments, in thoſe of the table, of ſleep, of love, and to the endurance of heat, and cold, and fatigue. For obſerving the exceſs of one of his friends in theſe reſpects, Tell me, Ariſtippus, if two boys were put under your care, one of which you were to educate to ſovereignty and command, the other never to have any ſuch thoughts, in what manner would you bring them up? Would you not pay a particular attention to their diet? Which of them would you accuſtom to accompliſh any preſſing affair, rather than to gratify his palate? Certainly the youth intended for empire, leſt the buſineſs of the ſtate committed

ted to his direction ſhould ſuffer through neglect. And would you not do the ſame when he was deſirous to drink, that he might learn to bear thirſt? Surely, ſaid he. But with regard to moderation in ſleep, to be able to go to reſt late, or to riſe with the firſt dawn, or to watch the whole night if neceſſary, which would you habituate? The ſame undoubtedly, replied he. And as to continence in amorous pleaſures, that they might not prevent his doing his duty? The ſame likewiſe, ſaid he. And not to avoid hardſhips, but voluntarily to undergo them, which would you enjoin? The ſame too. And if any diſcipline be adapted to teach us to ſubdue our enemies, to learn it which of them does it moſt become? Certainly (ſaid he) upon many accounts he who is educated to command others; for neither will all the reſt be of any uſe without the knowledge of this *. Inſtead of going on with the converſation (which it is well worth while to read), let us ſee the effects of ſuch an education in a real prince and ſovereign.

His beautiful panegyriſt exclaims, Who ever ſaw Ageſilaus ſubdued by any of thoſe appetites to which ſo many are ſubject? Who thought intoxication and an Epicurean palate were equally to be guarded againſt. Who uſed ſleep, not as a maſter, but as ſubſervient to his juſt occaſions; and who, unleſs he had not a worſe bed than any of his friends, was viſibly mortified; for he

* Xenophon Opera, vol. iv. Memor. lib. ii. c. i.

thought

thought it becoming majeſty to excel private perſons rather in endurance than in effeminacy. Nor was he aſhamed in other things of this nature, to take a greater ſhare to himſelf, I mean of heat in ſummer, of cold in winter; and if at any time it happened that the army were to endure unuſual fatigue, he voluntarily worked with the reſt, thinking it would encourage the men. In a word, Ageſilaus delighted in employment, and could not bear to be a moment idle. His continence in amorous pleaſures was almoſt incredible, he being by nature very ſtrongly inclined to them. Who ever equalled him in piety to the gods, veneration for the laws and cuſtoms of his country, in placability, in humanity, in indulgence to his friends, in the eaſe and pleaſantry of his converſation; in contempt of riches, of vain pageantry, in the love of eſteem and of true glory * ?

The plan of our philoſophic hiſtorian for the education of Cyrus is founded on the ſame maxims. His principal view ſeems to be, to accuſtom and inure to application, to fatigue, to hardſhip of every kind; to acquire the command of paſſion and appetite, to qualify to act in all the different capacities of ſtateſman, general, companion, friend [B].

A different ſtate of manners and diſcipline render, perhaps, ſome of theſe corporal virtues leſs neceſſary in modern times. Owing to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture, the inven-

* De Ageſilao, c. v.

tion

tion of contracts, and the common ſeats of war and general intercourſe, even princes who themſelves command their armies, can hardly ever be expoſed to want the cuſtomary ſupply and refection of nature, or to practiſe any of thoſe inſtances of ſelf-denial alluded to; and indeed, it is probable, that the beſt preparative to enable to endure occaſionally, or in caſes of extremity, either hunger, or thirſt, or fatigue, is moderation in diet, and conſtant exerciſe in our daily habits of life.

In theſe times of tranquillity and regular government, what we require from princes is rather the virtues of the mind and the heart; juſtice, humanity, knowledge; moderation in the exerciſe of power, the deſire of the eſteem, affection, and confidence of the community to which they pertain. The buſineſs therefore of their education ought to be to endeavour to excite and cultivate theſe virtues, by the peruſal of the beſt authors, accompanied with familiar illuſtrations.

Some writers who have conſidered the ſubject, have reckoned a knowledge of the ancient languages a neceſſary foundation; but I own, I have ever thought, ſomewhat injudiciouſly. If few, very few private perſons (whoſe motives are much ſtronger) read Plutarch and Xenophon, or Tacitus and Livy, with eaſe and pleaſure to themſelves; how can it be expected that princes, whoſe lives are ſo much engroſſed by buſineſs and neceſſary relaxation, will take and continue the requiſite pains? It is folly to imagine it, and the only languages neceſſary, and adapted to the circumſtan-

ces

ces of princes, ſeem to be their own, and that of our neighbours and rivals of France; for ſurely it is by no means requiſite or becoming majeſty (notwithſtanding the authority of ſome ancient examples) to be able to act the part of an interpreter, and to give audience to every foreign miniſter and ambaſſador in their native tongue. It would be more conſiſtent with the dignity of a King of England, if he never allowed himſelf to be addreſſed but in his own language; and this mark of reſpect, upon account of the excellence of our government, ſeems due to England from all foreign powers.

The foundation of all merit, virtue, and reputation, is reverend and ſuitable notions of Deity, of our religious and moral duties. Without them we can become uſeful and worthy of eſteem neither in a public or private capacity. They ought therefore to be early inſtilled into the minds of princes, and recommended to them with all the advantages and heightenings of perſuaſion and eloquence. Next to the ſacred ſcriptures, perhaps, there are no treatiſes in any language ſo well adapted to theſe great ends, as Mr. Wollaſton's Religion of Nature Delineated, the Offices of Cicero, and Xenophon's Memoirs of Socrates. What juſt, rational, and proper notions do they offer to us, of the attributes and perfections of God, of the merit, duties, and happineſs of man? Who can read them without veneration, gratitude, love towards the author of nature, without benevolence to mankind, without the moſt earneſt deſire

ſire of the acceptance and approbation of the former, of the eſteem and affection of the latter? Who can read them without contempt, abhorrence, and diſdain of indolence, irreligion, intemperance, inhumanity, injuſtice, baſe, and ſordid views? Who can read them without the warmeſt deſires of contributing to the welfare and felicity of parents, of fellow-citizens, of bodies, and communities of men? When the principles of piety and moral duty have been deeply imprinted in the mind, by a diligent peruſal and illuſtration of the principal ſubjects of theſe treatiſes, the next ſtep ſeems to be to a conſideration of the nature and end of civil government.

Though the writings of Plato, and others of the ancients on theſe ſubjects, abound in the moſt enlarged and benevolent views, and though they might afford various uſeful hints and ſuggeſtions, both to ſpeculative and practical ſtateſmen, yet as they are commonly deemed too refined and indeed impracticable, conſidering the general courſe of human affairs, perhaps, it will be more adviſable to direct the attention of thoſe deſtined for ſovereignty to leſs pure and more modern theories. Among theſe, certainly that of Mr. Locke demands the firſt attention. Where do we find the nature and end of political ſociety, the extent of the legiſlative and executive powers, the rights of prerogative, the line that ſeparates obedience and reſiſtance, elucidated, and marked out with ſo much candour and good ſenſe, as in the ſecond treatiſe of that great and good man? But the moſt

illuſtrious

illuſtrious monument of genius, knowledge, humanity, and virtue on theſe ſubjects; and indeed, on almoſt every queſtion intereſting to ſociety, is the Eſprit des Loix of M. de Monteſquieu. Indeed, what topic in which princes and ſtates can be concerned, has not been conſidered and illuminated by that tranſcendent and benevolent mind? The various forms of government, their principle, the education ſuited to each, their perfection, their corruption; rewards, puniſhments, laws, taxes, commerce, manners, defence, attack, revenue, money, population, climate, religion, police, in a word every ſubject worthy and ſoliciting the attention and ſtudy of philoſophers and ſtateſmen, has been inveſtigated and explained in that immortal work. The ingenious and eloquent Eſſay on the hiſtory of civil ſociety, may ſerve as an introduction to this treaſure of knowledge and political wiſdom. The former may at firſt be read only in part, with ſuch a verbal comment, as is ſuited to aſſiſt and engage youthful and unſteady minds. In riper and maturer years, it ought never to be out of the hands of princes, and is infinitely better calculated to form them to virtue, happineſs, and glory, than the infamous, perhaps, the miſunderſtood treatiſe of Machiavel, once the favourite manual of unprincipled, ſhort ſighted politicians, of little paltry tyrants, who ſubſiſted by the wretched expedients of ſhifts, poiſon, and the dagger.

In many reſpects unfortunately, in ſome favourable, war has always been the great buſineſs of

of mankind. This is owing to ſomething reſtleſs and aſpiring in our common nature, to our mutual admiration and deſire of the ſame objects, to covetouſneſs, envy, luxury, and the love of power and dominion. Yet this ſtate of hoſtility, the medium through which we ruſh to the gratification of our wiſhes, though it interrupts tranquillity and deſolates provinces, yet it alſo braces the bands of ſociety when ſlackened and relaxed by long intervals of repoſe, and though it foſters rapacity, cruelty, and revenge, yet it excites to inſtances of diſintereſtedneſs, generoſity, and valour. Perhaps, at certain periods it is as requiſite in the moral, as ſtorms and tempeſts are in the phyſical world. Both involve unhappy mortals in numberleſs ſufferings, dangers, and calamities; in the train and rear of both march wounds, diſeaſe, fractures, famine, agony, and death; but the one preſerves the elements from putrefaction, the other prevent the ſtagnation of the human powers, and though inflaming enmity and reſentment, yet it is alſo favourable to magnanimity, to affection, to friendſhip, and attachment to a community. War then, being one of the neceſſary and unavoidable conditions of humanity, an attention to the means of conducting it with advantage and ſucceſs, is among the indiſpenſable duties of princes.

Notwithſtanding the great changes in this hoſtile and deſtructive art, and the great modern improvements in military diſcipline, yet perhaps the Ancients are ſtill our beſt maſters in this noble

ſcience.

I call it noble, becauſe though it attacks the innocent, yet it inſures and guards the poſſeſſion of whatever is valuable or deſirable in human life. Modern treatiſes may, indeed, better teach us the management of the hand or the foot, and the mazy intricacies of evolution; but the conduct of armies, to accompliſh ſome important purpoſe and acquiſition, the reſources, the ſtratagems, the means of inſpiring confidence, of exciting attachment, of appeaſing ſedition, of inuring to hardſhips, fatigues, and dangers, may be learnt with much more advantage and pleaſure, in the hiſtorians and great military commanders of antiquity. For what modern treatiſes, can bear a compariſon, in theſe philoſophic and enlarged reſpects, with the Cyropædia and Anabaſis of Xenophon, the commentaries of Cæſar, the hiſtory of Polybius, explained and illuſtrated by M. de Folard [C]. Theſe admired monuments of diſcernment and good ſenſe inſtruct the general and ſtateſman in every page, both by example and precept; they teach in a ſtyle, in which ſimplicity and dignity are united, in what manner the writers conducted and accompliſhed the moſt glorious things in the world.

We come now to a part of knowledge which has always been conſidered as the peculiar ſtudy of princes, and indeed with reaſon. It is the mirror in which they may judge themſelves, the diſintereſted, the faithful friend and monitor, that ſignifies to them what are the ſentiments of the preſent, what will be thoſe of the future age, re-

ſpecting their conduct and manners [D]. It is alſo the foundation of the moſt uſeful and important ſciences; for without the experience, the maxims, the examples of hiſtory, what would be either politics or morals? Here we view the influence of government, of climate, of opinion; here we learn the cauſes of the riſe and fall of ſtates; here we admire and love virtuous and noble-minded princes and characters, here we pity or abhor thoſe of an oppoſite deſcription; here we are made to acknowledge, that moderation and humanity in the exerciſe of power, are the moſt effectual means of preſerving it; here we are taught to act with prudence and ſafety in the moſt tumultuous ſeaſons, to which, in the perpetual viciſſitudes of human affairs, all governments are liable; here activity, continence, generoſity, love of mankind, and of public good, conduct to reputation, to glory, to happineſs, the eſteem and veneration of men, the acceptance and approbation of God; the oppoſite vices and crimes, indolence, lubricity, ſelfiſhneſs, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, to infamy, to miſery, the reſentment of Heaven, the deteſtation of Earth. Surely then, of all literate acquiſitions, this is juſtly intitled to the pre-eminence, being calculated in ſo ſuperior a manner to form and invigorate the minds of princes, to excite them to application, and the practice of virtue, to direct and regulate their conduct and manners, in times of tranquillity or tumult, of peace or of war.

These reflections on the utility of history in general to those destined for sovereignty and command over others, will very naturally lead us to consider whether ancient or modern history be most worthy of their attention and study.

It is well known to those who have studied both, and made the comparison, that the ancient historians far excel the modern in the art of writing, in simplicity and rapidity of narrative, in description, in painting manners and character, in the depth and reach of their moral and political reflections. Their subject too is infinitely more interesting; characters are described as acting to the full extent of their talents and virtues, and under laws the most humane and equitable; communities and nations are beheld proceeding from feeble and contemptible beginnings to strength, to vigour, to dominion, and empire, and then through corruption, and the abuse of power, declining to subversion and ruin. The causes are pointed out with penetration and force. The most important wars are conducted with equal prudence, enterprise and valour; the methods of acquiring, preserving, and even of losing conquests are shewn; the excellencies and defects of every form of government, from licentious democracy to the most tyrannic despotism, are held out to observation; the most exalted virtue, the most depraved vice rise in succession on the scene; in a word, the human character, and the human mind in all its va-

riations of luſtre or obſcurity, of excellence or depravity, is made to paſs in review before us.

On the contrary, the range of modern hiſtory is very narrow and confined. The irruptions of the barbarous nations exhibit nothing but a ſcene of inhuman deſolation and injudicious ſettlement; the feudal ſyſtem is rather matter of aſtoniſhment than inſtruction; the inſulting arrogance of papal Rome, and the progreſs of eccleſiaſtical uſurpation, a diſgrace and reproach to human underſtanding; the formation of the preſent different monarchies of Europe, a narrative of ignoble artifice and oppreſſion on the one hand, of ſervile debaſement and proſtitution on the other; there is nothing to fill the mind, or to dwell on with pleaſure and complacence; no regular and well-planned conqueſts are atchieved; and as to the new and noble ſcene exhibited by the diſcovery of America and another world, it is a ſubject rather adapted to the contemplation of philoſophers than of princes. In brief, the writings of Thucydides, of Xenophon, of Plutarch, of Tacitus, of Livy [E], accompanied with Machiavel's diſcourſes, ſeem much better adapted to form great, good, and virtuous princes, and to inſtruct them in the knowledge of the human mind, and of human affairs, than any of the compilers and annaliſts of more modern ſtory.

What then ſhall princes ſlight and abandon modern hiſtory, the faithful picture of the manners, the principles, the views, the affairs of thoſe they

they are deſtined to live and act with? By no means. Let them ſtudy with diligent attention the narrative of the opinions, the laws, the civil and military tranſactions, the treaties, the wars, whether domeſtic or foreign, of later times, in the moſt faithful and judicious hiſtorians of their own countries (in Rapin, in Whitlocke, in Clarendon, in Burnet [F]), and as to the tranſactions of the neighbour nations, after a general view of them in Henault and Voltaire, they may dwell on more particular periods in the moral and unaffected Commines, in the judicious digreſſions and rapid brevity of Machiavel, the eloquent copiouſneſs of Guicciardini, the majeſtic gravity and ſeverity of Davila, of Thuanus, of Sully; in the acute diſcernment, the bold and unequal painting of De Retz; for theſe are almoſt the only modern hiſtorians, whoſe writings are adapted to intereſt and inſtruct thoſe educated to empire and dominion, and as many, perhaps, as moſt of them will have either opportunity or inclination to read *.

Beſides this general knowledge of the firſt principles of morals and politics, and of ancient and modern hiſtory, the attention of princes might be

* Notwithſtanding the merit of Mr. Hume's work in other reſpects, yet, as was formerly obſerved by an excellent perſon, it is highly partial, and rather an apology for tyrants, than a juſt and conſtitutional hiſtory of England. They are ſo well known, and ſo univerſally admired, that it is unneceſſary to mention or commend the many other excellent hiſtories that have lately adorned our own language and country.

very properly and uſefully directed to an inquiry into the morals, merit, and talents of individuals worthy of countenance, truſt, and promotion; to a conſideration of the agriculture, the manufactures, the commerce, the nature and circumſtances of the coaſts, the bays of their ſeveral countries when inſular, or waſhed with the ſea for a frontier. It is ſeldom neceſſary to recommend to them their military eſtabliſhment; that, indeed, ſeems the natural and favourite object of princes [G], though a well-trained militia is a far more eligible choice. They may alſo beſtow ſome thoughts on the public roads, buildings, employment of the ſoldiery in times of peace and tranquillity. The proſperous condition of all theſe various objects is the ſource of ſecurity, of eaſe, of wealth, of enjoyment, and conſequently of tranquillity and acquieſcence in the forms of the community. This ſpecies of information may be beſt attained by proper inquiry, and a peruſal of ſuch treatiſes as frequently appear on theſe ſubjects [H].

Much has been ſaid of the ſerious duties of princes, of their cares, of their labours, but are they never to be conſidered as men? never to be permitted the reliefs of relaxation and innocent delight? Far be ſuch moroſeneſs, ſuch malignity from the writer of theſe papers. He reſpects, honours, and loves virtuous and noble-minded princes, and though perſuaded that their duty, their intereſt, and their happineſs conſiſt in a faithful and ardent diſcharge of what they owe the public

lic and their country, for their elevation and royal dignity [I], yet far be it from him to preclude or envy them the wholeſome or requiſite amuſements and relaxations of life. Let the melody of muſic, the expreſſion and ſentiment of painting and ſtatuary, the commodiouſneſs and magnificence of architecture, the landſcape and ſcenery of gardening, the pathetic, the ſublime, the comic of poetry, ſerve to refreſh and exhilarate the hours of intermiſſion and leiſure: for theſe are pleaſures and enjoyments that will give a poliſh and grace to their more ſerious purſuits, and return them to them with freſh and renewed vigour and alacrity.

NOTES.

Note [A], p. 360.

THUS Machiavel.—" E laſciando l'opere virtuoſe, penſavano che principi non aveſſero a fare, altro che ſuperare li altri di ſumtuoſita, e di laſcivia e d'ogni altra qualita delizioſa." Diſcorſi, lib. i. cap. 2.

How few of them, unleſs, perhaps, awakened to ſerious reflection by the ſame alarming circumſtances, adopt the dying ſentiments of Lewis VI. to his ſon. " Souvenez vous, mon fils, & ayez toujours devant les yeux, que l'autoritè royale n'eſt qu'une charge publique, dont vous rendrez un compte tres exact après votre mort." Henault.

The emperor Juſtin's laſt injunction to his ſon and ſucceſſor Tiberius, is in the ſame ſtrain of good ſenſe, humanity, and piety. " Non rallegrati mai d'avere ſparſo il ſangue altrui, ne rende male per male. Guardati dall imitar me in prendere delle inimicizie. Come uomo in cio io ho peccato, e come peccatore ho portata la pena dai miei traſcorſi. Coloro pero che mi han fatto commetter queſti mali, meco compariranno davante al tribunale di Deo.—Abbi tanta cura de tuoi Sudditi, quanto n'ſai di te ſteſſo.—Laſcia, che ognun goda de proprii boni, e verſi i poveri fatti conoſcere liberale." Muratori Annali d'Italia, Anno DLXXVIII. At ſuch ſeaſons as theſe, princes, like other men, have a true ſenſe of their duty, the paſſions are ſilent, they view their paſt conduct in a juſt light, and natural affection makes them anxious

to

to preſerve their children from falling into the errors, vices, and crimes, which then alarm and upbraid them. Their ſentiments and exhortations are the inferences of unbiaſſed reaſon, the pure and diſintereſted effects of parental tenderneſs and benevolence.

NOTE [B], p. 363.

SHOULD any one object to this notion of the education of a prince, as impracticable and inconſiſtent with modern manners, I beg leave to refer them to the imperfect papers of the juſtly admired Duc de Montauſier, governor to the Dauphin of France, and to his judicious and excellent letter to Lewis XIV. They will there find, that theſe very ideas and rules formed the baſis of his plan.

NOTE [C], p. 369.

THIS is alſo the opinion of the great man laſt mentioned.

NOTE [D], p. 370.

"MA quanto all'eſercizio della mente, deve il principe leggere le iſtorie, e in quelle conſiderare le azzioni degli uomini excellenti, vedere come ſi ſono governati nelle guerre, eſaminare le cagioni della vittoria e perdutà loro, per poter queſte fuggire, quelle imitare, &c." Machiavelli; il Principe, lib. xiv.

NOTE [E], p. 372.

GREAT encouragements and rewards have been offered for particular improvements and diſcoveries in agriculture, in manufacture, in navigation. Why then might not ingenious perſons, equally acquainted with the learned languages and our own, be induced by like laudable methods to give good tranſlations of the principal Greek and Roman authors. Perhaps, by rendering them familiar and intereſting

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ing to perſons of rank and fortune, as well as to profeſſed men of letters, their effects in a moral and public view might be as ſalutary, as the diſcovery of the longitude in a commercial one, or as the wiſhed-for improvements above alluded to in agriculture and manufacture. And many judicious perſons are of opinion, that the preference of the faſhionable French writers to theſe purer inſtructors, is one principal cauſe of the venality and irreligion of the preſent times. Beſides, who, though he underſtood the originals ever ſo well, would not read with pleaſure in our own language, a Plutarch by Hampton, a Xenophon by Spelman, the moſt uſeful of Ariſtotle's writings by Mrs. Carter. Views of this kind are not below the notice of a prince, a privy council, or even a parliament. Would not a frequent peruſal of the Panegyric of Ageſilaus, of Trajan, of the Offices of Cicero, of Plutarch's treatiſe of the adminiſtration of a republic, have as happy and viſible an effect on the views and manners of princes and the great, as keeping good company has on our carriage and behaviour. "Abeant ſtudia in mores." Or could any prince of a generous and well-diſpoſed mind read the lives of Titus, of Trajan, of the Antonines in Dion, without an ardent deſire to emulate their talents and virtues? Or the ſhort, but comprehenſive chapter in Monteſquieu, Of the manners of a prince? Or the beautiful concluſion of Xenophon's Hero, without tenderneſs and emotion? Such is the ſort of reading and ſtudies that humaniſe our hearts, that nouriſh our love of mankind, "et tel eſt l'effet qu'elle produit, qu'on a meilleure opinion de ſoi-meme, parce qu' on a meilleure opinion des hommes."

NOTE [F], p. 373.

MUCH pains have been taken by certain late writers, to diſcredit the hiſtory of this pious and worthy biſhop. We know their motives very well, but though haſty and warm, and ſometimes betrayed into inaccuracies,

racies, yet his account of the period he treats, is upon the whole ſincere and faithful, and more to be depended on, and written more like a good Engliſhman than any later relation of the ſame tranſactions, except, perhaps, Rapin's. An edition of it with notes and corrections (neceſſary, upon account of private letters and other papers ſince brought to light) would be highly acceptable to all the friends of moderate and popular government.

NOTE [G], p. 374.

I Believe what the Duke de la Rochefoucault relates, in his memoirs of Lewis XIII. may be ſaid of the generality of princes. "Car au lieu que les grandes negociations peſoient á ce Prince, le tracas & la diſcuſſion des troupes ſembloient être ſes ſeules affaires tant il prenoit plaiſir à retrancher quelque choſe aux officiers, & a parler du detail de toutes les charges, dans la diſpoſition des quelles il lui ſembloit que paroiſſoit principalement ſon pouvoir, vol. i. p. 21, 22.

NOTE [H], p. 374.

PERHAPS it may be thought, that in ſuch a government as ours, an attention to ſeveral of the particulars of this detail, is rather the province and duty of an houſe of commons. However, the countenance and encouragement of the ſovereign could not but have a good effect.

NOTE [I], p. 374.

FOR as Montaigne very well obſerves, they ought to bear conſtantly in mind "que cette grande charge, qu' on leur donne du commandement de tant d'hommes, n'eſt pas un charge oiſive, & qu'il n'eſt rien qui puiſſe juſtment deſgouſter un ſubject, de ſe mettre en peine & en hazard pour le ſervice de ſon prince, que de le voir appoltronny cependant lui meſme à des occupations laſches, & vains: & d'avoir ſoing de ſa conſervation,

ſervation, le voyant ſi nonchalant de la noſtre." Liv. ii. cap. 21. Indeed, were it true in general, what Seneca ſays, very inſincerely and falſely, of one of the Emperors, or rather monſters of his time, how ſhould we love and adore them? "Cæſari quoque ipſi, cui omnia licent, propter hoc ipſum multa non licent. Omnium domos illius vigilia defendit, omnium otium illius labor, omnium delicias illius induſtria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio: Ex quo ſe Cæſar orbem terrarum dedicavit, ſibi eripuit." De Conſolatione ad Polybium, cap. 26.; and Xenophon, Και Βασιλευς αγαθος, ουκ ει μονον τω ἑαυτω βιω καλως προσεσηκοι, αλλ' ει και, ων βασιλευοι, τουτοις ευδαιμονιας αιτιος ειη; και γαρ βασιλευς αἱρειται ουχ' ινα ἑαυτω καλως επιμελητα, αλλ' ινα και οἱ ἑλομενοι δι' αυτον ευ πραττωσι. Memorabilia, lib. iii. cap. 2. § β. γ. Edit. Wells.

XIII.

Of the FRUGALITY and DISINTERESTEDNESS of the ANCIENTS in OFFICE.

IN theſe times of oſtentation and refinement, to endeavour to revive a taſte for ſimplicity and frugality may perhaps have the appearance of ignorance and even weakneſs. Such will, probably, be the opinion of the ſenſual, the venal, and the vain. There are others (I truſt, of better judgment) who will approve the attempt, and who are perſuaded, that, in periods of an almoſt general corruption and ſelfiſhneſs, our country cannot be more eſſentially ſerved by people of certain ſituations, than as it were by cleaning and bringing out of the ſhade the too obſcure and neglected pictures of ancient diſintereſtedneſs, ſimplicity, and moderation. The examples are recorded in books and languages, that are daily growing

growing obſolete and out of faſhion; the recollection of them will not be ſuch a barrier againſt the ocean of ſenſuality and vice, as public cenſure and puniſhment, as rocks and mountains; but they may have the effect of weeds and of pebbles [A], they may not reſtrain or reform the abandoned and deſperate, but they may encourage the innocent, and preſerve the wavering.

It was one of the many excellencies of the equal governments of Greece and Rome, that what we may render a decent and cheerful poverty, was not attended with the ſame inconveniences, neglect, contempt, and diſdain, in thoſe envied inſtitutions, as in the monarchies of modern Europe. It neither excluded from the company, familiarity and friendſhip, of the principal perſons and magiſtrates of the ſtate, nor from pretenſions to the conduct and adminiſtration of public affairs. Notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of Ariſtides's income, and the poverty in which he died, we find him as much confided in and diſtinguiſhed by his fellow-citizens, as Cymon, or others, his cotemporaries, perſons ſo greatly his ſuperiors both in property and connexions. Though much later, we read with ſurpriſe in Lammachus's accounts of the diſburſements of the army, the articles of a cloak, and a pair of ſhoes for himſelf; yet in the fatal expedition to Sicily, he was united in equal command with Demoſthenes (not the orator) and Nicias, the for-

mer very affluent, the latter the moſt opulent perſon of all Greece. Though, perhaps, his caſe may be ſaid to be a particular one, yet every one knows, that in ſpite of Socrates's mean habitation and great poverty, he lived and converſed familiarly with Critias, Alcibiades, and all the moſt wealthy and illuſtrious characters of Athens. Nay, long afterwards (and which is the more ſurpriſing, corruption, venality, and the admiration of wealth and riches being then at their height) with what prudence and ability did Phocion adminiſter the affairs of his country for a long courſe of years? So honourable was his poverty, and ſuch his contempt of money, and of even what we ſhould think the comforts and decencies of accommodation, that when the ambaſſadors of Alexander came to wait upon him with a preſent from that conqueror, of an hundred talents, he declined to accept of it, and they found himſelf, this great general and ſtateſman, filling a bucket of water at the well, and his wife, or lady, baking their daily bread. In the ſame noble ſpirit of magnanimity and independence, he rejected the rich offer of Harpelus. Theſe inſtances of reſpect and almoſt veneration paid to merit and virtue on the one hand, and contempt and diſdain of wealth on the other, appear in a manner incredible and ridiculous to our effeminate and intereſted manners [B].

But if we may credit a paſſage in Xenophon's Banquet, the ſtate of what we would reckon an abject

abject poverty, ſo far from being matter of reproach, was even preferable in many reſpects to one of conſiderable property and wealth. The paſſage is ſo remarkable and ſo peculiarly illuſtrative of Grecian and Democratic manners, that I cannot help giving the ſubſtance of it.

In the courſe of the converſation it had been propoſed, that every one in company (all people of faſhion in our phraſe) ſhould tell ingenuouſly upon what quality or circumſtance in his ſituation he moſt valued himſelf. One ſays, on being able to repeat all the Iliad and Odyſſey by heart, one on the beauty of his perſon, the reſt, ſome on one thing, ſome on another. When it comes to Charmidas's turn, he ſays, On his poverty, and for the following reaſons:

Every one allows it is better to be confident than timorous, to be free than a ſlave, to receive court than to pay it, to be confided in by our country than diſtruſted. When, therefore, I was rich, I was afraid leſt ſome one ſhould break into my houſe, and both rob me and perhaps ſomething worſe. Then I was obliged to court the good-will of calumniators and ſlanderers, being but too ſenſible, that they could much eaſier do me an ill-office than I could hurt them [C]; for, through their artifices, the city was continually impoſing ſome expenſive burden upon me, and I was never at liberty to take any diſtant journey.

But

But now, that I am deſpoiled of what I poſſeſſed out of our own territories, and receive no benefit from what I have here, and that all my moveables are ſold, my ſleep is quiet and pleaſant, I am reſpected and confided in by the commonwealth; inſtead of being threatened, I threaten; like a gentleman I can remain at home or go abroad as I pleaſe; and in fine, when I make my appearance, the rich riſe from their ſeats, or give me the wall. So that now I ſeem to myſelf to live the life of a king, whereas before I was certainly little better than a ſlave. For then I paid tribute to the people, now the republic pays tribute to me, while ſhe maintains me. Nay, during the time of my riches, they abuſed me on account of my connexion with Socrates, but now ſince I am become poor, nobody troubles me on that ſcore, or cares about the matter. Beſides, when I had a great deal, either the republic or fortune was continually taking ſomething from me, but now I loſe nothing, for I have nothing, but am always in hopes of receiving ſomewhat or other." See more to the ſame purpoſe, in that fine writer's treatiſe of the Athenian government [D]. It is to be feared, that theſe features of popular oppreſſion will ſhock all the notions of the titled and oſtentatious ſubjects of monarchy, and make them dread a form of government ſo adverſe to their pride and pageantry, more than even the worſt evils of deſpotiſm. They might flatter themſelves under the latter, by means of creeping and

 proſtitution,

proſtitution, to riſe into favour and to have an opportunity of indulging their vices, their pride, and their arrogance; but in more equal inſtitutions, their property and opulence would but mark them out for plunder, and what would ſtill aggravate the mortification, the ſuperfluity of their wealth would be required for the defence, the ornament, or the entertainment of the community, and not be ſuffered to pervert and confound our ideas of virtue and merit, or run to waſte in the gratifications of ſenſuality, vanity, and vice.

This correction of the conſequences of the accumulation of property in few hands, and the alleviation of the ſufferings of thouſands by the inconveniences of a few, is evident from many paſſages in the Greek hiſtorians and orators [E]. Thus one reaſon that induced the captains of the fleet, and other principal perſons, to endeavour the recal and reſtoration of Alcibiades, was the hopes (through his means, and the king of Perſia's) of the abolition of the democracy, under which the rich were much oppreſſed [F]. In the fourth Philippic, Demoſthenes alludes to the exceſſive burdens that were impoſed in his time on rich individuals, and which, at one period, uſed to be levied on the public in general. The ſame is hinted at in ὁ περι των συμμωριων, or of ſupplies. In his oration on the ſtate of the Cherſoneſus, he refers to the gallies he had fitted out, the public entertainments he had exhibited, the contributions he had paid, the captives he had ranſomed. He

does

does the ſame in that De Falſa Legatione [G]. Nicias is a remarkable inſtance, how little riches were an object of envy in the democracies of Greece; for we are told by his hiſtorian, that though his generoſity was the conſolation and ſupport of diſtreſſed perſons of merit and virtue, yet his timidity and apprehenſion of the diſpleaſure of the people, were a revenue to informers and ſlanderers. In few words, notwithſtanding the imprudence and injuſtice of the fatal invaſion of Sicily; yet the wealthy and opulent were afraid to expreſs their diſapprobation of it, leſt their backwardneſs ſhould be imputed to fear of the burdens and ſervice to which they would neceſſarily be ſubjected.

Such a ſtate of manners would not much encourage the love of riches, eſpecially when we conſider, that they were not the chief recommendations to the firſt offices and magiſtracies of the ſtate. And hence, probably, in a great meaſure, the contempt of them by many excellent perſons. When conſideration and influence, and the power of doing good, are given to virtue and talents, independent of wealth and fortune, the latter are below the wiſhes of men of noble and elevated minds. Even in a period, where they can ſerve to gratify every caprice of vanity, indulgence, and oſtentation, they are looked upon by the wiſe and good with a degree of indifference or diſdain.

In illuſtration of the foregoing obſervations, let us take a more particular view of the frugality and

diſintereſtedneſs of the great and eminent characters of Greece and Rome, who were intruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, and who aſpired to ſerve the public and their country, excited not by the proſpect of private advantage and emolument, but by a noble and generous deſire of giving repeated proofs of virtue and ability, and of acquiring and deſerving the affection, eſteem, and veneration, of their fellow-citizens. The deduction or ſeries will form ſo ſtriking a contraſt to modern manners and motives, and to our own times, in which, in general, men ſeem ambitious of rank and office in proportion to their want of merit and capacity, and ſeldom from any views but ſelfiſh and baſe ones, and be ſo glaring a proof of the preference of popular to regal government in this reſpect, that it may be both uſeful and intereſting.

The public integrity of theſe illuſtrious perſons was owing to the maxims of the governments they lived under, and the diſintereſtedneſs and frugality of the times, their natural conſequence. The gratifications of luxury were unknown or contemned, and oſtentation and pageantry gave not reſpect and influence. Even the principal and wealthieſt perſons of the ſtate delighted in a plain and frugal manner of life. Demoſthenes tells us in his ſecond Olynthiac, and in his oration on the ſtate of the Cherſoneſus, that the houſes of Themiſtocles and Cymon were remaining in his time, and notwithſtanding the many opportunities they had

had of enriching themſelves, their wars, their ſucceſſes, their victories, their long continuance in the adminiſtration of affairs, yet their ſimplicity and moderate extent were laſting monuments of the cleanneſs of their hands, the generoſity of their minds, and the frugality of the age. Let us now proceed with ſome regard to order and time.

The character and manners of Ariſtides are juſtly celebrated. As was hinted above, notwithſtanding his poverty, he was the intimate friend of Cliſthenes, he who reſtored the democracy at Athens after the ſubverſion of the tyranny of the deſcendents of Pyſiſtrates, choſen captain-general of the Athenian army, conſiſting of eight thouſand foot, in the war againſt the Perſians and at the battle of Platea, and empowered to tax all the allies at diſcretion, the greateſt truſt that could be repoſed in any man. Such was the conſtancy and magnanimity of this truly noble perſon, that he was neither elated by honours, nor dejected by repulſes, being of opinion, that a good citizen ought always to be equally ready with body and mind to promote the public good, without the hopes or expectation of any mercenary return, either of money or even honour and glory. Notwithſtanding ſo many opportunities of enriching himſelf, yet in the invective againſt his relation, Callias, who was immenſely rich, one of the heavieſt and moſt odious charges, was his imputed neglect of Ariſtides, who is repreſented as appearing in

a thread-bare coat, out at elbows. If, upon this account, adds the profecutor, he ſhivers with cold, how do you imagine he eats at home, what do you think are his conveniencies? Yet Ariſtides vindicated his kinſman, declaring that Callias had often made him offers of money and aſſiſtance, but he had his reaſons for declining to accept them. We are told, there was no one preſent who was not more in love with Ariſtides's poverty than with Callias's wealth. This great and good man perſevered in his frugality and integrity as long as he lived, for at his death he did not leave enough to bury him. We may obſerve upon this occaſion, that it was a great reproach at Athens for any one in affluent circumſtances, not to aſſiſt and ſupport their diſtreſſed and embarraſſed relations and kinſmen. In the Memorabilia, Xenophon alludes to a frequent cuſtom of friends relieving each other's neceſſities by the moſt liberal aids and preſents. What we ſquander in pampering a ſickly vanity, in building and decorating monſtrous manſions, one half of which we cannot inhabit, in uſeleſs and oſtentatious ſervants and horſes, in laying out our grounds inconſiſtently with the nature of our climate, rendering every thing lawn, park and expanſe, without hedge-row or ſhelter, they beſtowed on the public, in the generous aſſiſtance of their friends, in the relief of debtors, in the ranſom of captives, in apportioning friendleſs and deſtitute young women.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding the defects in the characters of Pericles and Lyſander, yet their integrity and diſintereſtedneſs with regard to the public were always above ſuſpicion. Though ſuch immenſe ſums had paſſed through the hands of the former, and though his long adminiſtration gave him ſo many opportunities of enriching himſelf, yet this crime was never imputed to him by the moſt violent of his oppoſers and enemies: and after his ſucceſs againſt Samos, when he had eſtabliſhed a democracy there, having taken fifty of the principal citizens, and as many children as hoſtages, theſe and ſeveral others beſides offered him a talent each, and Piſſuthnes, one of the governors of the king of Perſia's, ten thouſand crowns, provided he would commit the chief power to the ariſtocratical party, but in vain *. He would allow money to influence him in no action of his life.

With regard to Lyſander, though overbearing, violent, and cruel, yet no one could ever accuſe him of avarice and rapine, and he was for nothing more admired than for the grace with which he wore his poverty, and for his diſdain of riches when moſt in his power. No man, indeed, had ever greater opportunities of amaſſing a fortune. The conqueſt of Athens, his ſucceſs in Aſia, were an inexhauſtible ſource. Yet he brought all into the public treaſury. Theopompus relates, that notwithſtanding all the gold and ſilver that paſſed

* Plutarch in Pericle, vol. i. p. 167.

through his hands, the great authority he ſo long enjoyed, the many conſiderable towns and cities that had courted his protection, in fine, his great and more than royal power, yet he made not the ſmalleſt addition to his private fortune. When he might have obtained what ſums ſoever from the younger Cyrus (whoſe hopes of ſucceſs againſt his brother Artaxerxes depended on the aſſiſtance of Sparta) he deſired nothing but an increaſe of the pay of his forces. He died poor, but admired.

We had occaſion to touch the character of Epaminondas in another place *. To his other great virtues, he added, the praiſe of frugality and contempt of money. Though the greateſt ſtateſman and general of his time, though by his penetration and talents he had raiſed his country from contempt and obſcurity to be the arbiter of Greece, though he had gained the glorious victories of Mantinea and Leuctra, which humbled the pride and power of Sparta to ſuch a degree as ſhe never afterwards recovered, yet ſo great was the poverty, ſo narrow the circumſtances of this ſingular perſon, that Ælian tells us, he had but one coat, gown, or ſuit of cloaths, which, when he ſent to the taylor or fuller, he was obliged to keep the houſe for want of a change. Notwithſtanding this almoſt incredible inſtance of indigence in ſuch a character, yet when the king of Perſia ſent him a large ſum of money, as a preſent,

* In Eſſay VII.

or rather homage to virtue, he refuſed to accept it. Ælian adds, and very juſtly, "And in my opinion, there was more greatneſs of mind in not receiving than in offering it."

This great man was the intimate and boſom-friend of Pelopidas. The latter though of noble birth and inheriting an ample fortune, yet neither diſſipated it in ſenſual pleaſures, nor in vain and empty pageantry and oſtentation, but nobly and generouſly conſecrated the greater part of it to the convenience and aſſiſtance of his friends. His kind offers were accepted by all of them but Epaminondas, who preferred abſtinence and the diminution of his deſires to any conveniencies ſuch kindneſs could procure. His manner of life appeared ſo beautiful, reſpectable, and independent, that it became a model to Pelopidas himſelf. For, although his opulence might have commanded every luxury and indulgence of ſenſe and appetite, yet he voluntarily ſlighted them all, chuſing rather to emulate his friend in his philoſophic poverty, in the plainneſs of his dreſs, the ſimplicity of his diet, his perſeverance in the dangers and labours of war. Nay, ſo ambitious was he of equalling his friend, to ſuch a degree did he carry his contempt of the ſuperfluities and elegancies of accommodation, that, we are told, he would have been aſhamed, if the pooreſt perſon in Thebes could have been contented with a ſimpler and plainer manner of life than himſelf. What modern ſenſualiſt can comprehend the merit of

ſuch

ſuch characters as theſe? How different, how oppoſite are their notions and ideas of enjoyment and happineſs? Do they know any pleaſure untainted by vanity, oſtentation, exceſs in voluptuouſneſs, or play? On the contrary, Epaminondas was ſuch an enemy to ſuperfluity, that being once invited to ſupper at a friend's or neighbour's, and obſerving a great number of diſhes, ſweetmeats, perfumes, &c. he ſaid, I thought you intended a ſacrifice, not a prodigal entertainment, and then went away. He diſapproved both the ſuperfluity and waſte of the entertainment, and its inconſiſtency with the circumſtances of the the perſon who gave it.

We read none of Plutarch's lives with more ſympathy and melancholy pleaſure, than that of the mild and gentle Phocion. We admire his ſuperior diſcernment, we venerate his diſintereſtedneſs and integrity, in a period of univerſal profligacy, depravity, and corruption. We melt in tears over his unmerited and ungenerous fate. We both pity and abhor the ingratitude and folly of his deluded fellow-citizens. Though this wiſe, moderate, and humane perſon, was ſo poor as noticed above; though he ſo often oppoſed the unreaſonable inclinations of the people, yet he directed the affairs of his country for above twenty years, was choſen general of the Athenians five and forty times, and always in his abſence and with entreaties to accept the charge. Notwithſtanding his poverty, when Alexander ſent him the preſent

preſent alluded to before, of no leſs a ſum than an hundred talents, he aſked the officers who brought it, why he of all the Athenians ſhould be ſo much obliged to their maſter's bounty; and they replying, That Alexander thought him the only good man among them; Then, ſaid he, let him permit me to continue, and ſtill be thought ſo. When Menyllus made him a like offer, he told him, Neither was he greater than Alexander, nor was there now any more reaſon on his part for ſuch debaſement, than in the time of that great prince. His diſdainful repulſe of the advances of the treacherous Harpylus, and his offer of ſeven hundred talents, have been already mentioned. Indeed, he gloried in his poverty, and eſteemed it a proof of his virtue; and notwithſtanding all his commands, his intimacy and friendſhip with ſo many princes and great men, yet he perſevered in it even to his old age.

The inſtances from Roman hiſtory are ſtill more numerous and remarkable. It is known to every one who can read, that at Rome, poverty, ſo far from being matter of reproach or diſcouragement, was rather, on the contrary, an incitement and recommendation, and long held in the higheſt eſteem and honour. Indeed their hiſtorians (and the Greeks who treated the ſame ſubject) are unanimous in attributing their ſucceſs and glory to this virtue, and to the conſequences of it, temperance, induſtry, juſtice, the preference of public to private good. How often has been quoted the following paſſage of Livy to this effect, and with pretended admiration, how little influence ſo-

ever

ever it may have had on modern manners?— "Nulla unquam reſpublica nec major, nec ſanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit: Nec in quam, tam ſero avaritia, luxuriaque, immigraverint: Nec ubi tantus, ac tam diu paupertati, ac parſimoniæ honos fuerit." Lib. i.

In the early ages of the republic, we meet with various inſtances of perſons being called from their little farms [H], and even from behind the plough, to the higheſt offices of the commonwealth, to conſulates, to dictatorſhips, to command great armies, to conduct affairs of the utmoſt moment and importance. And let us not imagine, that, at this period of their progreſs, the Romans were in circumſtances little preferable to an American tribe, of one of the five nations; or that a Roman conſul, or dictator, was a character of as little eſtimation or conſequence as what we abſurdly call an Indian king. When Cincinnatus was ſolicited from his rural labours, to the deliverance of his country, to the firſt magiſtracy in the commonwealth, the Romans were already a numerous and powerful people. When Fabricius diſdained the gold of Pyrrhus, they had ſubdued and acquired almoſt the whole of Italy, from the fartheſt part of Hetruria to the Ionian ſea, and from the Tuſcan ſea croſs the Appennines to the Adriatic, an extent of country poſſeſſed by various communities, and ſwarming with inhabitants.

Let us now endeavour to follow the method we have obſerved in the firſt part of this treatiſe.

Publius Valerius, ſurnamed Poplicola, is one of the firſt characters in Roman ſtory that attracts our notice and admiration. He was inferior to none of his contemporaries in every kind of virtue. He was a principal actor in the expulſion of Tarquin and of his race, in adviſing the confiſcation of their effects, and an implacable war againſt them and their adherents: four times was raiſed to the honours of the conſulate; was victorious in two wars of the greateſt conſequence, triumphed for both, the firſt time for his victory over the Tyrrhenians, the ſecond for that over the Sabines. Yet, although he had ſuch opportunities of amaſſing riches which he might have done without cenſure and reproach, yet he made no addition to his private fortune, and died in ſuch narrow circumſtances, that he did not even leave ſufficient to bury him. In gratitude and admiration of the man who preferred a life of temperance and abſtinence to every ſenſual gratification, and who diſdained enriching himſelf at the expence of the public, that ſacred office was performed by his country, who honoured him with a moſt ſplendid funeral, the Roman matrons and ladies, with a general conſent, laying aſide both their gold and purple, and mourning for him during a whole year, an inſtance of reſpect and veneration paid only to their neareſt relations *.

Menenius Agrippa is an inſtance of the ſame diſintereſtedneſs, of the ſame talents in peace and in war, of the ſame parſimony and moderation

* Dionyſius Halicar. lib. v. c. 48.

of

of deſires, and of the ſame public and funereal honours paid to all thoſe virtues. This illuſtrious perſon overcame the Sabines, and triumphed in a moſt glorious manner for that victory. It was owing to the good ſenſe and humanity of his perſuaſions, that the ſenate conſented to the return of thoſe, who, out of indignation of their arbitrary and unequal conduct, had withdrawn themſelves to the ſacred mount. It was alſo owing to the confidence the people placed in him, that they were prevailed upon to lay down their arms on that alarming and critical occaſion. His executors intending to bury him privately, upon account of the poor circumſtances he died in, the people hearing of it, would not ſuffer ſuch neglect to be put on ſo great a character. The tribunes, therefore aſſembling, and enlarging with great commendations on both the military and political virtues of the man, and on his temperance, and the ſimplicity and integrity of his life, and above all, on his abſtinence from every method of acquiring or accumulating riches, and the diſgrace it would be to them if they ſhould ſuffer ſuch a man to be buried in an obſcure and ignoble manner upon account of his poverty, they unanimouſly agree to take the expence upon themſelves, by a tax or contribution. But the ſenate being informed of what had paſſed, and of their intentions, were aſhamed that ſo eminent a character ſhould be buried by private contribution. They, therefore, give it in charge to the queſtors, to prepare

a moſt

a moſt ſplendid and magnificent funeral, worthy of the deceaſed and of the republic. The people being thus prevented from ſhewing their admiration and gratitude, individually, and in the manner they intended to ſo exalted a character, would not receive their money again, though tendered by the queſtors, but beſtowed it on the children of the deceaſed, in compaſſion of their poverty, and to prevent their engaging in any purſuits unbecoming their father's virtues *.

Cincinnatus is a remarkable inſtance of the ſimple manner of life of the great men of Rome in the early ages of the republic, and of the reſpect and veneration that were paid to virtue and talents, in diſregard and deſpite of the narroweſt circumſtances and income. The progreſs and perfection of the Roman conſtitution was owing to the rival pretenſions of the Plebeians and Patricians. Ceſo, the ſon of Cincinnatus, a young nobleman of great beauty of perſon, valour and eloquence, intoxicated by ſucceſs and admiration, and naturally ambitious, was a kind of champion for the latter. Upon all occaſions, he inveighed with the greateſt acrimony and vehemence, againſt the pretenſions of the Tribunes and the Plebeians, and his actions correſponded with his language and diſcourſe. Hence the indignation and hatred of the people, a day appointed for his trial, bail and ſecurity given for his appearance, his voluntary baniſhment, and the neceſſary payment of the

* Dionyſius Halicar. lib. vi. c. 96.

money.

money. It would have been inconſiſtent with the character of his father Cincinnatus not to have indemnified the ſureties. He therefore ſells the greater part of his property in order to repay them, reſerving nothing to himſelf but one ſmall farm on the other ſide of the Tiber, on which there was an humble cottage, whither he retires inconſolable for the diſgrace and misfortunes of his ſon. His time was paſſed, with the aſſiſtance of a few ſlaves, in the cares and labours of huſbandry. But the nature of the Roman government, whoſe health and vigour depended on agitation, and his known virtue and talents did not long permit him the enjoyment and continuance of his obſcure, ſevere, and parſimonious manner of life. He is raiſed to the conſulſhip by the ariſtocratical party, in order to oppoſe and counteract what they called the ſeditious and encroaching views and deſigns of the Tribunes. When the meſſengers went to acquaint him with his election, and to deſire him to come to Rome to take poſſeſſion of his high dignity, the Roman hiſtorian's remark and deſcription of their reception, and of the dreſs and manner in which they found their conſul employed, is at once expreſſive of the ſentiments of the writer, and highly characteriſtic of the cuſtoms, manners, and principles, of the times. "Operæ pretium eſt audire, qui omnia præ divitiis humana ſpernunt, neque honori magno locum, neque virtuti putant eſſe, niſi ubi effuſe affluant opes." At the moment of their arrival, he happened to be ploughing a piece of ground for

ſowing,

ſowing, himſelf following the oxen that were breaking up the fallow, without a veſt, his waiſt girded, and a cap upon his head. Seeing a great number of men come into the field, he ſtopped his plough, and could not for a long while conceive who they were, and what they wanted with him. When one of them coming to him, and deſiring him to dreſs himſelf in a more becoming manner, he went into his cottage, and putting on his cloaths, came out to them: upon which, the perſons who were ſent to conduct him to Rome, all ſaluted him, not by his name, but as a conſul; and cloathing him with the robe bordered with purple, and placing before him the axes, and the other enſigns of his magiſtracy, deſired him to follow them to the city. After embracing and taking leave of his wife, and commending the care of his family concerns to her management, he followed them to Rome. Dionyſius Halycarnaſſenſis, from whom I have borrowed this relation, adds, "the only reaſon (and it is alſo mine) that induced me to relate all theſe particulars, was to let all the world ſee what kind of men the Roman magiſtrates were at that time; they worked with their own hands and were temperate; that they were not uneaſy under innocent poverty; and were ſo far from aiming at regal power, that they even refuſed it when offered (this will be ſeen preſently): for the Romans of this age will appear not to bear the leaſt reſemblance to them, but to purſue every thing that is contrary to their

maxims, except a very few, by whom the dignity of the commonwealth is ſtill ſupported, and a reſemblance to theſe men preſerved *." Notwithſtanding theſe narrow circumſtances and apparent inſignificance, ſuch was the character and influence of the man, that by his reſolution, moderation, integrity, and affability, he fruſtrated the ſeditious views of the tribunes, and rendered the ariſtocracy even popular and agreeable; ſuch his ſuperiority to the love of power, that notwithſtanding the entreaties of the ſenate, and though the tribunes had perſuaded the people to continue them in their magiſtracies for the third time, yet he would not imitate ſo dangerous a precedent, but reſigned his conſulſhip at the uſual time, highly cenſuring thoſe who had the preſumption to act in a different manner, and to retain their offices. He then immediately left the city and returned to his farm, to reſume his uſual ſevere and laborious manner of life. But the continual wars of his country ſoon had occaſion for his aſſiſtance again. In a criſis of great perplexity and danger, he was raiſed even to the dictatorſhip. The meſſengers found him, whom Livy calls, "Spes unica imperii populi Romani," employed, as upon the former occaſion, in ſome rural labour. He is no ſooner inveſted with his high dignity than he revives the hopes and ſpirits of his country, and marching immediately againſt the enemy, in the ſhort ſpace of ſixteen days, he ſaves the Roman camp, entirely defeats the Æqui,

* Dionyſius Halycarn. lib. x. c. 17.

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ſubjects them to the ignominy of paſſing under the yoke, and of giving up Corbio, one of their principal cities, to be plundered and have a garriſon placed in it, and in the triumph for his ſucceſs, leads their general Gracchus Clælius in chains, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction and credit. With regard to the ſpoil, above all regard to his particular intereſt, he ſent the ornamental part of it to Rome, diſtributing all the reſt among his army. Then, agreeably to his former moderation, he abdicates the dictatorſhip, though given for ſix months, and notwithſtanding the offers of the ſenate, of as much of the conquered lands as he pleaſed to accept, with ſlaves and money, and the generous and affectionate tenders of rich preſents by his relations and friends, thanking them for ſuch teſtimonies of regard and eſteem, he declined them all, and returning again to his little farm, preferred the laborious life he led there, to that of a ſovereign; glorying more in his poverty, than others in their riches. Recourſe was again had to his reſolution and wiſdom, and even in his extreme old age, when he had paſſed his eightieth year, he was once more created dictator, and by his fortitude and prudence preſerved his country from the apprehenſions of monarchy, by commanding the ſlaughter of Spurius Mælius, who was ſuſpected of aiming at an unconſtitutional power*.

When the attention of the Romans was not engaged in the examination, correction, and im-

* Livy, book iv. c. 13, &c.

provement of their conſtitution, they were generally employed in the increaſe, extenſion, and enlargement of their territory and dominion. Being ſurrounded by free and warlike communities, their ſucceſs in Italy was gradual and progreſſive. Their triumphs were frequent, but their repulſes and defeats were not few. The æra of the rapidity of their conqueſts and victories, commenced with their oppoſition to the ſubjects of monarchy, the natives of enervating and effeminate climates. One of their moſt formidable rivals in Italy were the Samnites, a federate community, jealous of their independence, and ambitious of glory. Long, tedious, and of various ſucceſs, was the war which the Romans had waged with this formidable people, when at laſt, in the forty-ninth year of the conteſt, and the four hundred and ſeventy eighth of the city, the conſul Curius Dentatus, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the republic, triumphed for having brought it to a concluſion. The parſimony, the integrity, the diſintereſtedneſs, the military talents of this famous perſon, are celebrated by many of the Roman writers.

The ſurpriſe of the Samnite deputies and ambaſſadors (who came to wait upon him in hopes of gaining him to their intereſts by money) at the meanneſs of his habitation, the humble attitude they found him in, his frugal ſupper even dreſſed by himſelf, and his generous, diſdainful reply to their offers, are all of them ſufficiently known. "I ſuppoſe, my poverty made you believe, that

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you might eaſily corrupt me. But you will find yourſelves moſt groſsly miſtaken. My ambition is to command rich men, ſuch as you, not to be rich myſelf. Away, therefore, with that droſs, the cauſe of the ruin and miſery of mankind, and go tell your nation, that they ſhall find it as difficult to bribe me as to overcome me in battle [I]." Yet this magnanimous perſon thrice obtained the honours of triumph, was the principal perſon among the Romans in his time, ſubjected to the dominion of his republic, almoſt that whole extent of country which reaches from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian ſeas, and finally drove out of Italy, together with his brave and well-diſciplined army, the reſtleſs, the enterpriſing, the impetuous Pyrrhus, to whom the hardſhips, the hazards, and dangers of war, were enjoyment and neceſſary agitation, and who was reckoned even by Hannibal himſelf, the greateſt general in the world. After his triumph over the Samnites, when the conquered lands were divided among ſuch of the Romans as had none of their own, he prevailed to have no more than ſeven acres allotted to each perſon, accepted no more himſelf, though a much greater number were offered him, alleging, that in order to preſerve the Roman frugality, it was highly expedient, that no citizen ſhould have more land than was neceſſary to ſupport him in health and vigour of body. In the ſame ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs and love of a frugal and laborious manner of life, in his glorious victory and

triumph over Pyrrhus and his formidable army; notwithſtanding the ſplendour and magnificence of the ſpoils, veſſels of gold, and of ſilver, purple carpets, ſtatues, pictures, all the works of elegance and taſte of the Greek cities, when all the reward offered by the public to the conqueror of ſo much wealth, was but fifty acres of the acquired lands, he declined the preſent, with this memorable reſolution, never to poſſeſs above ſeven acres, an eſtate, in his eſtimation, ſufficient for the maintenance of any honeſt and good man.

Fabricius, his contemporary, was an hero of the ſame character and manners. Taught wiſdom by nature, not inſtruction. No ſooner acquainted with the ſelfiſh and ſenſual maxims of Epicurus, than a penetrating and juſter derider of them. Diſdaining to make uſe of the treachery of a ſervant againſt the life of his maſter, though the unprovoked invader and ravager of his country: unſhaken, unalarmed, by the moſt unuſual appearances of the moſt formidable animals, of the moſt profound evolutions, but turning the one to the confuſion and ruin of the enemy, the other to his country's benefit, by magnanimouſly adopting them. The generous reply of this patriot, to the rich and flattering offers of Pyrrhus, give ſo juſt an idea of the ſubject and intention of this eſſay, and of the manner of thinking and acting of the ancients in offices of truſt and dignity, and of what give the beſt title and pretenſions to them, that it will be well worth our while to tranſcribe

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it from a fragment of the judicious Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis. All that Pyrrhus deſired of him, was his aſſiſtance in negociating a peace with the Romans. He told him, he could not without concern obſerve his great poverty ſo unſuitable to his great merit; that his requeſt was not of a diſhonourable nature; that if he would comply with it, he would put him on a footing and equality with the moſt opulent of the patricians; and that after the peace, he ſhould be his adviſer, his counſellor and guide in peace and in war; for he wanted a ſincere friend, and thought no one ſo capable of ſuch a truſt and office as himſelf. In reply, Fabricius ſaid,

"What you have heard with regard to my poverty is true enough, for my whole eſtate and property conſiſts of an houſe of but ſorry appearance, and a little ſpot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my ſupport. But if any thing has induced you to imagine, that this poverty makes me leſs conſidered in my country, or in any meaſure unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no juſt cauſe to complain of fortune. She affords me all that nature requires, and if I do not poſſeſs ſuperfluities, I am likewiſe free from the deſire of them. With theſe, I confeſs I ſhould be more able to relieve the diſtreſſed, the only reaſon for which the opulent are to be envied: but ſcanty as my means are, I can ſtill contribute ſomewhat to the ſupport of the ſtate, and to the aſſiſtance of my friends. With reſpect to honours, poor as I am, my coun-

try places me upon a level with the richeſt. For Rome knows no qualifications for great employments, for offices of public truſt and dignity, and no pretenſions to them, but merit, virtue, and talents. She appoints me to officiate in the moſt auguſt ceremonies of religion; ſhe intruſts me with the command of her armies; ſhe confides to my conduct the moſt important negociations: my poverty does not leſſen the weight and influence of my counſels in the ſenate; the Roman people honour and reſpect me for that very poverty which you conſider as a diſgrace. They know the many opportunities I have had to enrich myſelf in war, without incurring any juſt cenſure; they are convinced of my diſintereſted zeal for their proſperity; and if I have any reaſon to complain in the return they make me, it is only the exceſs of their applauſe. What value then can I ſet on your gold and ſilver? What prince can add any thing to my fortunes? Always attentive to diſcharge the duties incumbent on me, I have a mind free from ſelf-reproach, and I have an honeſt fame." When ſuch was the wiſdom of the maxims of a government, when ſuch were the opinions, principles, and ſentiments of citizens, need we wonder that their country became the arbiter and ſovereign of the world?

The ſame admiration and preference of merit and ability without regard to either birth or fortune; the ſame love of frugality, temperance, and a laborious manner of life; the ſame cenſure and diſdain of refinement and ſuperfluity, accompanied

nied the Romans through all the periods of their progreſs, till the unbounded enlargement of empire, always ruinous to virtue and patriotiſm, and its neceſſary attendants, exceſs, prodigality and luxury, ſunk and degraded them, as much below the reſt of mankind, as ever they had been raiſed and exalted above them. Notwithſtanding the times in which the firſt or elder Cato flouriſhed, and the proſperous ſtate of the affairs of the republic, how ſevere, how exemplary was his manner of living? how great his diſintereſtedneſs and integrity in the employments and offices with which he was intruſted? It is obſerved by Livy of this eminent perſonage, that ſo great and extraordinary was the vigour of his mind and genius, that wherever he had been born, he would have raiſed himſelf to honours and diſtinctions. There was no kind of knowledge, whether regarding private or public affairs which he did not underſtand. He was equally acquainted with the buſineſs of the city and with that of the country. Some by their knowledge in the law and juriſprudence, ſome by eloquence, ſome by military renown, have raiſed themſelves to the higheſt offices; but ſo univerſal were the talents of this man, that whatſoever he engaged in, you would have ſaid he had been born to excel in that alone. While he ſerved in an inferior ſtation, a brave and intrepid ſoldier, and diſtinguiſhed by various honorary rewards; when raiſed to command, a great and conſummate general; a profound lawyer, an eloquent advocate. Nor

was he eloquent only during his life-time; his orations and other writings upon all ſorts of ſubjects ſurvive, and will ſurvive. Often did he plead in his own cauſe; often both for others and againſt others; for he not only haraſſed his enemies by impeachments, but even by his own defences of himſelf. He bore enmity to many, and was himſelf an object of enmity to many; nor is it eaſy to ſay, whether the nobility preſſed harder upon him, or he on the nobility. His nature was undoubtedly ſevere, and his language full of the harſheſt and moſt unbounded aſperity; but he was ſuperior to all the gratifications of ſenſe and appetite, and of the moſt rigid integrity; a deſpiſer of management, a deſpiſer of riches. In parſimony, in patient endurance of labour and danger, his mind and body were as hard and inſenſible as iron or ſteel; not to be ſoftened even by old age that ſubdues and diſſolves all things: and he was all this to even beyond the age of ninety years *. Plutarch is more particular in ſome things, and ſays he enured his body to labour, fatigue, and abſtinence; that he travelled on foot in his arms, often aſſiſted his ſervant in preparing his ſupper, and when at leiſure, uſed to work at the entrenchments, &c. round the camp. Such was his integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, and deſire to ſpare the public revenue, that he boaſted he had left in Spain the horſe he uſed to charge with in battle during his conſulſhip, to ſave the expence of the

* Livy, lib xxxix. c. 40.

freight

freight to Italy. Even after his conſulate and triumph, his manners and habits were ſtill the ſame; ſtill diſdaining ſloth and ſenſuality, and delighting in temperance and exertion. Nay, when in the higheſt offices of the republic, his dreſs was ſimple and of inconſiderable value. He drank the ſame wine with his labourers and workmen, he wrought with them in the occupations of huſbandry in a coarſe jacket, he ſupped ſparingly, and all this in order to enure his body to fatigue and hardſhips for the ſake of the commonwealth. The rooms of his country-houſe were neither white waſhed nor plaſtered [K]. Surely there muſt be a pleaſure in induſtry, exertion, temperance, in the purſuits of regard and eſteem, as well as in indolence, epicuriſm, ſelfiſhneſs, diſregard of public affection and confidence.

Scipio Africanus, whoſe name it is ſufficient to mention, who ſubdued the rival of his country for the empire of the world, who poured ſuch a flood of wealth and riches into Rome and Italy, yet availed not himſelf of theſe opportunities to increaſe his private fortunes; and notwithſtanding the progreſs of luxury and refinement, lived a life of ſimplicity and of wholeſome labour. In his eighty-ſixth epiſtle, Seneca gives us a very beautiful picture of his villa, of his baths, of the ſimplicity, moderation and frugality of his whole manner of life. It is the more pleaſingly affecting, by being as oppoſite a contraſt in our times, as it was in the philoſophers, to the indolence, effeminacy, prodigality, and luxury of the age. He tells us, "In this

this little corner, that terror of Carthage, to whom Rome is indebted for having been only once taken, uſed to bathe his perſon, weary with country labours, for he occupied himſelf in huſbandry, and himſelf laboured the earth with his own hands, agreeably to the cuſtom of the ancients. He ſtood under this ſorry roof, he trod on this mean pavement and floor. But who is there now who could endure to bathe with ſuch poor accommodations? Any one would reckon himſelf the moſt abject and neceſſitous of creatures, unleſs the walls of his baths were incruſted with the moſt precious of marbles; unleſs by the variety and happy concurrence and blending of their ſtreaks, veins and colours, they did not fall into picture and landſcape: unleſs thoſe precious ſtones, formerly rarely ſeen in our temples, did not line even our fiſh-ponds, to which we commit our bodies languid and fainting with profuſe perſpiration; unleſs the pipes that ſupplied them were of ſilver; not to mention the ſtatues, the ornamental columns, the murmur and daſhing of the falling ſtream, the very pavement or floor of gems and precious ſtones. What admits the light in this bath of Scipio's are ſo ſmall, that they are chinks rather than windows, ſimply cut out in the wall. But now our baths are deemed fit for nothing but moths and cobwebs, unleſs they are contrived in ſuch a manner as to receive the ſun the whole day from the moſt ſpacious windows; unleſs, at the the ſame time, we are bathed with water, and tanned with the ſun; unleſs, from the bathing receiver

ceiver we can ſee the fields and the ocean. Yet the former were the baths and accommodations of the Catos, the Fabii, the Cornelii; the latter of our faſhionable ſenſualiſts, of freedmen, of pathics, of minions; who exclaim, O wretched creatures, they knew not how to live! We envy neither their talents, nor reputation, nor renown. The life they lived does not deſerve the name of life.

Luxury and refinement continued gradually to increaſe after the entire reduction of Carthage, of Sardinia, of Sicily, of Macedon, &c. Yet we ſtill meet with the ſame illuſtrious inſtances of frugality, moderation, contempt of riches, diſintereſtedneſs and integrity in the beſt and greateſt of the Romans; who preferred virtue, eſteem, reputation, the affection and veneration of their fellow-citizens to the low and ſordid gratifications of ſenſuality and private intereſt. To give but two other inſtances which ſhall conclude this ſeries: What can be imagined more exemplary, ſome will ſay incredible, than the magnanimous poverty of Ælius Tubero, ſon-in-law to Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Perſeus and of Macedon, who had twice been raiſed to the conſulate, who had twice triumphed? This memorable perſon lived with ſixteen of his neareſt relations, all of the name and race of the Ælii, together with his own and their wives and children, in a ſmall houſe at Rome. What furniſhed their ſubſiſtence was a little farm in the country. Yet his wife, though ſo illuſtriouſly deſcended, was not aſhamed of her huſband's poverty and narrow circumſtances, but

gloried

gloried in his virtue, the occaſion of it. The reflection of the judicious Plutarch on this trait of ancient Roman frugality and natural affection is worthy of notice, eſpecially as it is in ſome degree applicable to our own times. "What a contraſt to the preſent manners, where, unleſs brothers live as it were in different climates, or are ſeparated from each other by rivers, and unleſs their inheritances and poſſeſſions are divided and bounded by ſtrong walls, never ceaſe being engaged in quarrels, differences and ſuits at law. But theſe are the beautiful leſſons preſented by hiſtory for the inſtruction of thoſe who wiſh to live agreeably to the dictates of good ſenſe and of nature. Let it not be aſked by any of the admirers of the minutenefſes of accommodation, how order, and neatneſs, and quiet could be attained and preſerved in ſuch a croud, and with ſuch poor conveniences? They may as well enquire by what diſcipline the Spartan boys could be taught to walk in public, and in the ſtreets, with their hands in their boſoms, and without ever turning their eyes aſide [L]? Or how the Ichoglans are trained to order and ſilence in the crowded ſeraglios of Turkey, and the Eaſt. Indeed, there is nothing above the power of education, inſtitution, diſcipline. Hence only the difference between Spartans and Sybarites, between effeminate refinement and decent accommodation; between vice and virtue, private ſelfiſh- and public affection.

The other inſtance is that of Paulus Æmilius, father-in-law to the above Tubero. Notwithſtanding

ing the beſt pretenſions, upon account of the immenſe treaſures, acquired to his country by the rich conqueſt of Macedon, yet he diſdained to avail himſelf of them in any degree, ſatisfied with the conſciouſneſs of having done his duty; he only permitted his children, who were fond of books to take thoſe that belonged to the king; and when he diſtinguiſhed ſuch as had behaved well in the concluding action of the war, he preſented his ſon Tubero (above mentioned) with a ſmall ſilver cup, which was the firſt piece of plate that had ever been in the family; yet it came honourably into it. Before that, none of the ſixteen, or their wives, would have either gold or ſilver plate in their poſſeſſion. Agreeable to this diſintereſtedneſs and noble public conduct, this great ſtateſman and general, notwithſtanding all his honours, victories and opportunities of amaſſing wealth, overlooked and ſlighted them all, and died worth only about thirty-ſeven crowns.

Although this indifference to wealth, and contempt of it, in the great men of Greece and Rome, and the preference given, and the reſpect and veneration paid to virtue, merit, and talents, without regard to birth or property, ſeem ſo oppoſite and contrary to modern notions and manners, I think it might eaſily be accounted for and explained.

Virtue and the love of public good being the ſpirit and principle of commonwealths, the founders of ſuch beautiful forms of government could place a greater truſt and confidence in the generality

generality and people at large, than the framers of leſs equal and moderate inſtitutions. In the latter, where conſideration is chiefly given to opulence and its appendages, and which always infers, upon account of the unequal diviſion of property and other cauſes, a more enlarged and liberal education and manners, it would be highly imprudent and dangerous to the community to commit any great degree of power and influence to one whom ignorance, want, and the admiration and deſire of riches, might often ſeduce to betray the truſt and confidence repoſed in him. Hence the ſuppoſed neceſſity of a certain property and independent income as a qualification to ſit in our lower houſe of parliament, and even to vote at elections; and the conſequent excluſion and incapacity of ſuch as are unſupported by the like advantages. But it was otherwiſe in the ancient governments of Greece and Rome. There all the citizens were eligible to the adminiſtration of affairs, to offices of truſt and dignity [M]. It is true, however, that by the cenſus in Greece, and by the diviſion of the Romans into tribes and centuries, a great part of the citizens were precluded from magiſtracy; yet theſe were only the very loweſt of the populace, and who were thought diſqualified for affairs, their minds being depreſſed, and their attention and time intirely engroſſed in procuring a maintenance, and their daily bread. Still, however, a very conſiderable part of the citizens, having the ſame advantages of education and inſtruction (owing to the moderate diſtribution

of

of property, and the neglect of letters, men then being indebted for their wiſdom and talents to nature, not books), had an equal title and claim to all the honours of the republic. They were ſenſible, that their pretenſions to the confidence of their fellow-citizens, to offices and magiſtracies, depended on their reputation for integrity, capacity, and merit. There was no ſovereign, no miniſter, no minion or miſtreſs, to corrupt and protect. The arts that ſeduce from virtue, the objects of vanity and pageantry, refinement in the means of accommodation, and in the habits and intercourſe of life, were unknown or deſpiſed among thoſe moderate, wiſe, and ſevere nations. It was not, therefore, neceſſary or expedient to diſparage or incapacitate any in theſe reſpects, but thoſe who in every civiliſed country are doomed to a ſort of animal life and exiſtence. Yet even they were not ſubjected to a total excluſion, but approved or rejected with the reſt of their fellow-citizens in the tribes and centuries. We have ſeen from various examples, both Grecian and Roman, that a narrow fortune, or what they called *læta paupertas*, with the conſequent virtues, an irreproachable life and manners, inſtead of being an obſtacle, was frequently a recommendation to preference and diſtinction. Theſe nations were perſuaded, that they who from their earlieſt infancy had been trained and inured to a virtuous frugality, to temperance, to induſtry, to moderation of deſire, gave the ſureſt pledges for their perſeverance in thoſe habits, and wore the beſt armour againſt

the oppoſite vices and exceſſes. They rightly judged, that the man who had proved himſelf a good, careful, active, provident maſter of a family, father, ſon, huſband, brother, a brave ſoldier, a good citizen, would alſo acquit himſelf with equal ſufficiency and integrity as an ædile, queſtor, prætor, tribune, or conſul. When, therefore, we read of the ſimple and laborious manner of life, of the diſintereſtedneſs and generous contempt of wealth, in an Ariſtides, in a Lyſander, in a Curius, in a Fabricius; let us not preſume to pity or ridicule their ignorance and ruſticity, but check ourſelves, and recollect, that the ſame noble ſentiments and tenour of conduct made Epaminondas, made Phocion, made Scipio, made Paulus Æmilius revered, and almoſt adored, when the arts of luxury and refinement, with all their crowded train of meanneſſes and vices, had made a conſiderable progreſs both in Greece and in Rome. But at that period the influence of their ancient manners ſtill in ſome degree prevailed; and though few had the reſolution or virtue to imitate, yet all could admire thoſe truly noble-minded perſons, who founded their happineſs and glory on virtue in private and in public life; who were aſhamed of nothing but of what all men ſhould be aſhamed, of vice, of crime, of intemperance, of injuſtice in a private, of corruption in a public capacity; and who, agreeably to what has been frequently advanced in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, derived more genuine, ſincere pleaſure from the command of their paſſions and

appetites, the exercise of their virtues, the simplicity and frugality of their manner of life, and the consciousness of having discharged every duty of a good man and a good citizen, than can even be conceived or imagined by the greatest voluptuary and sensualist, under a state of manners and in governments less favourable to the virtues of the mind and the heart.

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 382.

COMME la mer, qui ſemble vouloir couvrir toute la terre, eſt arretée par les herbes & les moindres graviers, qui ſe trouvent ſur la rivage. MONTESQUIEU.

NOTE [B], p. 383.

ANTIGONUS not having ſeen Cleanthes the philoſopher of a long while, and meeting him one day at Athens, aſked him, "Do you ſtill grind at the mill?" "Yes, Sir (replied Cleanthes), and I do it to gain a livelihood, and not relinquiſh philoſophy." "How great (exclaims Plutarch) muſt have been the magnanimity of this illuſtrious perſonage, who coming from the mill, with the ſame hand with which he turned it, and kneaded the paſte, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the ſun, of the moon, of the ſtars! And can we, then, conſider ſuch employments as ſervile?"—In Athenæus we meet with a characteriſtic or trait of the ſame nature. It was cuſtomary at Athens, for the Areopagites to cite before them prodigals and ſpendthrifts, or ſuch as had no viſible way of gaining a livelihood. Menedemus and Aſclepiades, both young, and apparently without any viſible means of ſubſiſtence, being cited to tell how they were able to paſs whole days with the philoſophers, and appear in ſo good plight, deſired that ſome of the millers might be called; who teſtified, that every night they wrought at their mills, for which they received two drachmas. The Areopagites were ſo charmed with their induſtry, frugality, and love of knowledge, that as a teſtimony of their approbation and eſteem, they preſented them with two hundred drachmas. Lib. iv. p. 168. Edit. Caſaubon.—The mean and wretched habitation, the miſerable con-

conveniencies, the equally ſervilely laborious and ſtudious life, of Epictetus are generally known. Theſe inſtances and habits appear very extraordinary and unaccountable to modern manners. The accommodation, the tranquillity of mind, the aſſiſtance from books, converſation, &c. afforded by ſuch a way of ſubſiſtence, one would hardly think well adapted to the purſuits of letters and of philoſophical ſtudies: but facts are ſtubborn things, and not to be reaſoned againſt. Beſides, the influence of government and modes of thinking is inconceivable. The ſentiments of the Greeks with regard to voluntary poverty, and occaſional abſtinence from even innocent and allowable gratifications, are well explained in Plutarch *De Genio Socratis*.

NOTE [C], p. 384.

PERSONS of property in Athens were ſo liable to be teaſed by informers and ſlanderers, that they even found it neceſſary to retain ſome one, though poor, yet of reſolution and volubility of tongue, to defend them, and even to retaliate. In this view, ſee the uſe that Crito makes of Archidemus, in *Memorabilia*, lib. ii. c. 9.

NOTE [D], p. 385.

LIGHT may be alſo thrown on the ſubject by the following paſſage of Lucian's *Somnium ſeu Gallus*. In deſcribing the advantages of poverty in preference to riches, he ſays, "In times of peace they (the Rich) endeavour to gain your good-will by attentions and preſents, in order to be preferred to magiſtracy and office. They give ſpectacles, build baths and other public ſtructures for your uſe and convenience. Beſides, the Rich are expoſed to a thouſand calumnies upon account of their wealth. When the humour takes you, ye oblige them to give an account of their adminiſtration, and even confiſcate their fortunes. Sometimes, not ſatisfied with abuſing

abuſing them in your aſſemblies, you purſue them with ſtones, or throw them into the river, &c."

NOTE [E], p. 386.

THEY were obviated and guarded againſt in Athens, and in the beſt of the Grecian republics, by the public burdens to which the wealthy were liable, by their being obliged to furniſh and fit out gallies, to perform ſacrifices, to entertain ſtrangers, to build ſchools, palæſtras, baths, &c. Vid. Xenophon of the Athenian Republic—Monteſquieu, lib. vii. c. 3.—and Lyſias *De ſacræ Olivæ Trunco Oratio.* And in his oration *pro Ariſtophanis bonis* he makes the defendant ſay of his father, that beſides conſiderably above nine talents which he had expended in the public ſervice, he had given marriage-portions to the daughters and ſiſters of perſons of narrow circumſtances; that he had ranſomed ſeveral captives from the enemy, and to others given money to bury their poor relations. He adds a beautiful reaſon for his doing ſo: Και ταυτ' εποιει, ηγεμενῳ' ειναι ανδρῳ' αγαθε ωφελειν τας φιλας (the rich at Athens did not look upon the inferior citizens as vulgars, the ſcum and dregs of the earth, according to the preſent faſhionable court language), και ει μηδεις μελλοι εισεσθαι, though no one were ever to know it. Lyſias, p. 318. edit. 1615.

NOTE [F], p. 386.

'ΟΠΕΡ και ταλαιπωρενται—*qui malis maximè premerentur.* Thucydides, lib. viii. § 48. edit. Daker.

NOTE [G], p. 387.

LUCIAN *in Demoſthenis Encomio* alludes to the magnificence of his ſhews or ſpectacles, his fitting out gallies, his fortifying the city of Athens, his ranſoming of captives, his apportioning young and deſtitute women. He makes him ſay to Archyas, who was ſent by Antipater to ſeize him, "If I ought to live, it is the

Piræus

Piræus that muſt preſerve me; the veſſels I have equipped for the republic, the fortifications I have raiſed at my own expence, my voluntary contribution to the tribe of Pandion." And a little after, "If I ought to live at the expence of others, it ſhould be at that of the captives I have ranſomed, the fathers whoſe daughters I have married, the poor whoſe debts I have paid, whoſe neceſſities I have relieved."

NOTE [H], p. 396.

THERE is a curious account of primitive Roman frugality and moderation in Athenæus. Πατρικιος μεν γαρ ην, &c. Lib. vii. p. 274. edit. Caſaub.

NOTE [I], p. 405.

ATHENÆUS makes him only ſay from Megacles, Ουκ εφη δειδαι χρυσιε εως αν τοιαυτα δειπνη. Lib. x. p. 419. Plutarch and Valerius Maximus are more particular.

NOTE [K], p. 411.

AULUS Gellius has preſerved a fragment of an oration of Cato, *Conſularis & Cenſorius, publicis jam privatiſque opulentis rebus*, in which he ſays, "Villas ſuas inexcultas & rudes, ne tectorio quidem præditas fuiſſe dicit ad annum uſque ætatis ſuæ ſeptuageſimum, atque ibi poſtea his verbis utitur. Neque mihi, inquit, ædificatio neque vaſum, neque veſtimentum ullum eſt manupretioſum, neque pretioſus ſervus, neque ancilla eſt. Si quid eſt, inquit, quod utar, utor. Si non eſt, egeo. Suum cuique per me uti, atque frui licet. Tum deinde addit, Vitio vertunt, quia multa egeo: at egeo illis quia nequeunt egere." Lib. xxii. c. 23.

NOTE [L], p. 414.

VIDE Ξενοφοντος Λακεδαιμονιων πολιτεια. Κεφ. γ. § ε. ς.

NOTE

NOTE [M], p. 416.

BY the law of Ariſtides, the magiſtrates of Athens might be choſen indiſcriminately out of all the claſſes of the people. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. ii. c. 2.

We have a very natural deſcription of the manners of the Athenians, and of their equal and eaſy intercourſe, in Pericles' famous funeral oration in Thucydides. "Our government is popular, becauſe the end of it is the happineſs of the people (or nation), and not that of a few individuals. In our private diſputes, we all of us enjoy the equal empire of law and equity; and how different ſoever may be our ſtations and conditions, poſſeſs the ſame privileges, and have equal pretenſions to offices of truſt and dignity. Reſpect and conſideration are not paid to birth, but to merit; neither poverty nor meanneſs of condition exclude any one from riſing to power or influence, provided he be worthy of them, and capable of ſerving his country. Our private and familiar intercourſe is as equal as our public, and is full of good-humour, freedom, and gaiety." Και ονομα, δια το μη ες ολιγους αλλ' επειονας οικειν, δημοκρατια κεκληται, &c. Lib. ii. And with regard to the Romans, Tullus ſays to Fufetius, in Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, "With us the magiſtracy, the dignity of ſenator, and other honours, are enjoyed not by men of great fortune, nor by thoſe who can ſhew a long liſt of anceſtors, all natives of the country, but by ſuch as are worthy of them; for we look upon the nobility of man to conſiſt in nothing but in virtue." Lib. iii. 11. And to the ſame purpoſe Tacitus: "Apud majores virtuti id præmium fuerat, cunctiſque civium, ſi bonis artibus fiderent licitum petere magiſtratus." Lib. xi. p. 665. edit. Gronov. 8vo.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM